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U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Arms Talks Held 8-11 Jan

LD1101185790 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The new round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was held in Moscow on January 8-11.

They focused on a wide range of issues, including preparations for the 1990 conference to review the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, further efforts to shore up the international nuclear non-proliferation regime, enhance the effectiveness of the system of international guarantees, joint support of the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the situation in several regions of the world from the point of view of nuclear non-proliferation.

The consultations passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Both sides reaffirmed their commitment to the cause of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, emphasised the need scrupulously to observe by all signatory states the assumed obligations and expressed readiness to give assistance to other states in peaceful uses of atomic energy under effective international control.

Ambassador at large Richard Kennedy, who heads the U.S. delegation at the consultations, was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy. During the talk both sides noted the importance of continued constructive cooperation between the USSR and the United States in strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime and lending a universal nature to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The sides said the USSR and the United States were ready to promote the success of the forthcoming conference to review the treaty. They expressed confidence in the usefulness of the contacts between the two countries in the non-proliferation field and the need to preserve the practice of holding bilateral consultations.

Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

5th Round of Conventional Arms Talks Previewed

LD1201061390 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna January 12 TASS—Expectations are running high for the fifth round of talks on conventional arms reduction in Europe, which begins in Vienna today.

The talks are attended by delegations from 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO nations.

The new round of talks is expected to be very intensive and eventful. Major changes in the international arena have set the stage for the signing of the first agreement on conventional arms reductions in Europe this year. The sides have vowed to sign such an agreement, and failure to produce results will be very disappointing.

Meanwhile, several obstacles remain. Western partners acknowledged that the East's proposals on the scope of front (tactical) aviation cuts was a compromise, but have given no answer. Troop reductions have been paid little attention to recently. The issue about the NATO forces deployed outside national territories in Europe is also open. The sides are locked in an argument over definitions for combat tanks and armored vehicles.

Previous Round of Vienna Talks Analyzed

PM1001172190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Nazarenko report: "What is in the Basket? Toward the Fifth Round of Vienna Talks on Measures to Strengthen Confidence and Security in Europe"]

[Text] Vienna-Moscow—At the end of last year, the fourth round of talks on measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe, in which the representatives of 35 countries which had signed the Helsinki Final Act are participating, ended in the Austrian capital. What did they bring to the end of the year? Did they succeed in filling the basket of trust with a new collection of measures? What are the prospects for the future?

A long time has passed since the talks began—more than 10 months—but it appears that there are no grounds to talk about significant success, except, perhaps, for the accord on holding a seminar on military doctrines. That is indeed an important step on the path to strengthening confidence and security in Europe. There is reason to hope that a businesslike and comprehensive discussion of the doctrines at the level of chiefs of general staff of the 33 European states, the United States and Canada, prominent diplomats and scientists will help to accelerate the solution of cardinal questions of military policy.

But let us return to the talks of the 35. Unfortunately, so far no accord has been reached on a package for a qualitatively new collection of confidence-building measures embracing the activity not only of ground, but also of air and naval forces. The NATO countries still take a narrow view of the problem and bracket out the air force and navy, making an exception only for their individual components—amphibious, air-mobile, and airborne forces functionally connected with ground troops. Admittedly, after the West's consent to including combat aircraft and helicopters in the talks process of the 16 NATO countries and the 7 Warsaw Pact countries to cut armed forces in Europe, the possibility of also including aircraft in the confidence-building measures was examined. But the navy's activity, as before, is left out.

The United States categorically objects to this problem being discussed within the framework of the talks of the 35. The reason is obvious: Its navy enjoys considerable superiority over the Soviet one—it has twice as much total tonnage, 2 and ½ times as many large surface ships and naval aircraft, and 19 times as many marines.

The question arises: How can the switch to defensive doctrines be implemented if the navy is left intact and its potential is ignored? After all, the modern navy is capable of fighting not only at sea but also of actively operating against land facilities, and directly influencing the ground groupings' combat operations. If the West's naval power is maintained at its present level, without extending even confidence-building measures to the navy's activity, then given the radical reduction of conventional weapons in Europe the military threat to the Warsaw Pact Organization not only will not diminish, but will increase. Who will accept that?

"We frequently hear it said by NATO representatives," special envoy O. Grinevskiy, chief of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks, stated, "that these 'inconvenient' questions should be bypassed, and then progress at the forum will be ensured." Is it worth saying that in fact this would not be progress, but only a semblance of it, a self-deception. It is time to resolutely reject such tactical tricks. They are meant for simpletons.

The talks of the 35, in my view, will not progress unless the NATO representatives give proper attention to the specific initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries, particularly regarding the switch to the universal method of notification of all types of military activity by the sides in the zone where the confidence-building measures are applied. The fact is that military activity mainly involves joint actions by various types of troops and types of armed forces conducted according to a single plan and under a single operational command. That is why the system of notification must be complete, excluding the possibility that some components of exercises might escape inspection.

This is why the Warsaw Pact countries are proposing that military exercises with the participation of ground, air force, and naval formations in any event be subject to notification if just one of the components exceeds a certain threshold: 13,000 men, 250 combat tanks, or 130 combat aircraft, if 420 or more sorties are completed during the exercise, or 15 warships with a displacement of 1,000 or more tonnes each, or 50 naval aircraft, or 300 men from the amphibious forces.

The Warsaw Pact Organization proposals create a good basis for fruitful work by those participating in the talks. First, the new conceptual approach is not the mechanical fusion into one package of current and proposed parameters; it takes into account the positions of all the participant countries. Second, the notification system proposed makes it possible not only to deepen but also to develop the Stockholm confidence-building measures to increase the openness and predictability of military activity on land, at sea, and in the air. Third, the comprehensive notification formula makes it possible virtually to rule out the bypassing of the measures formulated.

The opening of the latest round of talks of the 35 is scheduled for 12 January 1990. We hope that it will be marked by accelerated progress. It is time to fill the basket of confidence-building measures with new ideas, constructive proposals, and mutually acceptable accords.

Crowe Statement on Naval Arms Cuts Studied

LD1001110890 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Excerpts] U.S. Admiral William Crowe, retired, till last October was head of the Joint Chiefs. He spoke in favor of negotiating naval forces cuts between his country and the Soviet Union. Vladislav Kozyakov of our staff comments.

[Words indistinct], he writes, should have started long ago, and Washington is to blame that they haven't, for Washington is the party still unprepared to talk things over. Until recently William Crowe's attitude to the problems was negative, but now he seems to have changed his mind. [passage omitted]

The present situation does produce a puzzling impression, however. The Soviet Union has agreed to respect America's concern over the balance of conventional forces in Europe, specifically the 30,000 tanks advantage on the part of the Warsaw Treaty. Talks have been under way in Vienna for cuts to equitable levels in tanks, aircraft, artillery systems, and troops. But the United States is deaf to the Soviet Union's concern over U.S. advantages in naval forces. That advantage is quite impressive. [passage omitted]

Thus this country's anxiety over Washington's refusal to negotiate naval forces reduction with us is equally understandable. [passage omitted]

There can be no greater trust, lesser military confrontation or transition to non-offensive defence as long as the problem of naval forces remains unresolved. [passage omitted]

The latest statement by Adm Crowe is important inasmuch as the former admiral maintains it is already time to begin appropriate negotiations. As head of the Joint Chiefs until recently, he is sure to know the present situation to the smallest detail. [passage omitted]

Reportage on 45th CEMA Session in Sofia

PRAVDA Summarizes Speeches

PM1101121590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "CEMA: At a Sharp Turning Point"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 10 Jan—A fundamental interest in continuing the activity of CEMA and simultaneously striving to fundamentally restructure it was demonstrated by the representatives of the 10 CEMA countries during the 45th sitting of the CEMA.

The discussion held on the 1st day of the forum on the problems of CEMA restructuring raised a whole number of innovative and original proposals on the short- and long-term prospects for this collective organ of economic cooperation.

The need to set up a new model of collaboration—a market-type model applying the cost conditions of the world market and creating a new currency system for the CEMA countries—was stressed in particular by M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, in his speech at the session. The transition to such a model should take place gradually, bearing in mind the large differences in economic position and level of transformations in the national economies of different CEMA countries. In his opinion, the transition to the new model should not be implemented in all CEMA states straightaway but first in those states which are most prepared for it. In time other countries can join them.

Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the Vietnamese Council of Ministers, stated the need to restructure economic cooperation in CEMA on an entirely new platform according with the processes of renewal and perestroyka in the CEMA countries. The SRV favors in principal a transition to reciprocal settlements in freely convertible currency at current world prices, as well as the phased resolution of this problem through agreed specific measures, the head of the SRV delegation said.

The speech by H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, expressed concern at the state of cooperation in CEMA and noted the need to analyze the prevailing situation in detail. He advocated the creation of a new system of reciprocal links and a gradual transition to settlements in freely convertible currency. The head of the GDR delegation advocated simplifying the CEMA structure and adopting new statutes.

Cuba shares the opinion of the other CEMA countries on the need to fully restructure the council. This would make it possible to achieve greater cohesion and, at the same time, greater internal and external dynamism. But this does not necessarily require that we abandon the principles which formed the basis of the CEMA organization, C.R. Rodriguez, vice president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, stated. The introduction of market elements into certain aspects of our economic activity, he pointed out, cannot mean that the market will prevail. Equally, allowing a certain proportion of private ownership cannot mean that it will assume a privileged position with regard to public ownership, which plays the prevailing role in the historic transformations of society.

The speech by D. Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, supported the idea of radical transformations in CEMA and the renewal of the forms and methods of its work. Also touching on the problem of the price of industrial goods supplied to Mongolia from the European CEMA countries, he said that these often exceed world prices, whereas, conversely, in many cases prices of Mongolian export goods are lower than world prices. Mongolia favors the speediest restructuring of the foreign-trade price-setting mechanism and in principle advocates a transition to current world prices.

T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, proposed that the session set up a special working group to draft as soon as possible proposals on switching to market mechanisms of cooperation in relations between the CEMA countries and to restructure the council's activity and review its statutes. Poland is prepared to immediately embark on the implementation of new decisions even if only a limited number of interested countries participate. This could be a kind of "economic laboratory" for the entire CEMA community, the head of the Polish Government said.

Since the CEMA countries are carrying out reforms, CEMA therefore also needs reform, Romanian Prime Minister P. Roman said. He proposed urgently examining the forms and mechanisms of cooperation in CEMA for the next 2 to 3 years, stressing that bilateral relations will continue to be the main basis of cooperation. At the same time, he noted the importance of multilateral agreements, especially in the areas of specialization, standardization, and environmental protection.

Czechoslovak Premier M. Calfa proposed agreeing and formulating an accord on the creation of a new trading regime among the council countries which would stipulate that the conditions for reciprocal trade would be based on world market conditions no later than 1995. The CSSR, he said, reaffirmed in principle the acceptability for it of the Soviet proposal on the transition to current world prices and settlements in freely convertible currency. However, in his opinion, the utilization of the new cooperation mechanism would lead to unilateral advantages for the USSR. In this connection he raised the question of the need to verify by means of independent expert analysis the mutually advantageous nature of the proposal to switch to current world prices and settlements in foreign currency.

In order to transform cooperation into a powerful factor of progress we need a new approach, G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, stated. The core of this approach should be the economic interests of the commodity producers themselves; we need to shape a single socialist market. G. Atanasov advocated that contract prices be brought closer into line with world prices, that fuller use be made of the potential of national currencies, and that CEMA organs be radically restructured.

The closing session of the CEMA Conference, in which the heads of the delegations from the council countries and the SFRY took part along with representatives from observer countries, was held in Sofia's People's Palace of Culture that afternoon.

A protocol was signed and a communique—which is being published in the press—was adopted on the results of the session.

It was decided to hold the next CEMA session in Budapest.

The closing speech at the 45th CEMA session was delivered by G. Atanasov, head of the Bulgarian Government.

This CEMA session, he said, has really been a turning point for the development of our entire organization and for cooperation within the CEMA framework. We hardly have any grounds for underestimating the ways in which all of our countries have benefited from this cooperation. But our statement today that CEMA, in its present form, is failing to ensure the necessary future for the development of mutual relations, which is the paramount factor in economic progress under the new conditions, remains justified. We have in the past repeatedly made similar statements about cooperation lagging behind the demands of the time, but the discussions revealed fundamental differences on ways of getting out of this situation.

Our present sitting is a new—a really new—beginning. That was clear from the speeches made during the session. They showed that we were virtually unanimous on what should be the main direction in shaping a full-fledged market environment which would combine the real economic interests of individual commodity producers and national economies as a whole. Irrespective of the differences and shades of position adopted by the countries, we should describe this fundamental unanimity as a real basis for CEMA's successful renewal in the direction in which we are all interested.

I am convinced that this unanimity should be seen as a decisive boost for the success of our future work. And we will have to do a great deal of work to switch from agreement in principle to the shaping of the elements of a new cooperation system. The fundamental renewal of the work of CEMA organs and its Secretariat are acquiring new importance. Today we are realizing more and more profoundly that we need to be more open to the world, and we realize that this is the only possible way for each country and for our economic community to exist. The internationalization of modern economic life is leading to a fundamentally new ball game, and the rules of access to the market are becoming particularly important. I am convinced that for each CEMA country access to open markets will become more favorable as market relations within the CEMA framework become more developed.

The Bulgarian side is genuinely satisfied to have hosted this CEMA session. The problems which we have discussed here are unusually complex. But the quality of the discussion, the businesslike approach, and the unanimity which we have reached on the question of the fate of our cooperation provide grounds for satisfaction, Atanasov stressed.

A reply speech was delivered by M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Thereupon the 45th CEMA session closed.

At the end of the 45th CEMA session, the Bulgarian leadership held a reception in honor of its participants. The reception, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by delegations from the CEMA countries, including the Soviet delegation headed by N.I. Ryzhkov. [passage omitted]

The delegation returned to Moscow the same day.

It was met at the airport by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

Ryzhkov, Mongolia's Sodnom Confer

LD1101153490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0843 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jan (TASS)—N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met in Sofia on Wednesday [10 January] with D Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] Council of Ministers and head of the MPR delegation at the 45th CEMA session.

Some urgent problems in Soviet-Mongolian economic relations were examined during the course of discussion. Guided by the desire to improve efficiency, the two sides spoke in favor of speeding up the drafting of conditions for raising trade and economic cooperation between the two countries to a new basis with the use of freely convertible currency and current world prices in mutual transactions.

A general view was confirmed that the implementation of the proposals for the restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation, which were put forward during the CEMA session, will help to improve the efficiency of bilateral economic relations.

A complete coinciding of views, characteristic of the traditionally friendly relations between the two countries, was noted during a discussion on foreign policy questions.

Comparison of Ryzhkov Comments

PM1201101990

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 12 January 1990 carries in its Morning Edition on page 4 an unnamed TASS special correspondent's dispatch on the speech and press conference in Sofia given by Soviet Premier Ryzhkov. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "At Journalists' Request," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 11 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 11, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph one, line one in IZVESTIYA begins: Sofia, 11 Jan—On 10 January at Sofia's People's Palace of Culture N.I. Ryzhkov, member... (substituting "11 Jan" for "10 Jan," retranslating)

Page 12, column one, first full paragraph, sentence one reads in IZVESTIYA: ...fundamental questions of further cooperation—that is... (adding "further")

Page 12, column two, third full paragraph, sentence one reads in IZVESTIYA: ...satisfied with the session. We believe that... (substituting "session" for "mission")

CEMA Deputy Secretary on Talks With EC

LD1101204590 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 11 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Georg Mikhailin]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Official relations between CMEA and the European Community have been established, but cooperation of the two organisations is slowly filling with specific contents, said Stefan Zawodzinski, deputy secretary of the council. He leads the CMEA delegation at the talks with the community.

The two economic organisations agreed on parallel development of their cooperation and cooperation of separate CMEA member countries with the Economic Community, and representatives of CMEA offered a package of proposals for negotiations.

They comprise seven areas: environmental protection, transport, statistics, standardisation, long-term economic and scientific forecasts, science and technology and energetics (specifically, the creation of a joint power grid).

Three rounds of the negotiations have already been held, Zawodzinski said. The first round had a generalised character, the second was devoted to establishing each other's areas of competence and the third established serious interest of the twelve in ecological cooperation with CMEA.

The sides exchanged the necessary information in the area. Therefore, during the fourth meeting to be held next April, experts of both economic groups will discuss in detail specific directions, forms and methods of cooperation in environmental protection.

The council suggested to the community that a European conference be held in Moscow to work out the common European stand on this global problem for an international environmentalist forum under the United Nations auspices to be held in 1992.

If the community gives a positive answer at the fourth round of the talks a European meeting could be held in October 1990.

The possibilities of interaction between the council and the community in the areas of statistics, long-term economic and scientific forecasts and the creation of a joint power grid are also planned to be discussed during the forthcoming round.

Life suggests ever new possible trends of cooperation between the council and the community, for instance, agriculture (specifically, veterinary science and biotechnology), Zawodzinski said.

There are many opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation between the two economic organisations but they are not used sufficiently. The reason for this is the inflexibility of the mechanism for coordinating positions of CMEA member countries, separation from realities and lack of coordination in powers of the steering bodies of the council and the community.

Cuban Representative Cited

LD1101153290 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Havana January 11 TASS—Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice-president of the Cuban State Council and Council of Ministers, expressed satisfaction with the results of the 45th meeting of the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

He noted, in an interview with the PRENSA LATINA news agency, that Cuba, as well as other CMEA members, believes that the organisation's sweeping renovation is needed.

Rodriguez said that he was concerned about some issues during the meeting, in particular the decision on new elements of relations between the CMEA countries: the transition to world prices in 1991 and the introduction of settlements in hard currency.

These two questions were thoroughly analysed during the meeting.

The meeting's final document mentions the specific position of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam. Rodriguez noted that, therefore, there is reason to believe that Cuba's interests will be taken into account.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Future Ties With EC

PM1201104090 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 28 Dec 89 p 19

[Interview with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by V. Markov and S. Polzikov, attributed jointly to DIARIO 16 and NOVOSTI; date and place not given]

[Text] Moscow—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "we have reached the conclusion that the cold war has ended and that a period of peace is beginning in Europe" in an interview granted following his visit to NATO headquarters. Shevardnadze stressed the importance of the trade agreement signed with the EC.

[Interviewer] How important is this agreement between the USSR and the EC?

[Shevardnadze] I consider it an advance that has permitted the start of a new stage in rapprochement between our country and the 12 states that make up the EC and in transcending the economic division of Europe. This accord resolves, in essence, problems relating to a cooperation based on the mutual granting of most favored nation status without unnecessary restrictions. Now everything depends on how active the interested parties are, for instance when it comes to drawing up agreements in individual fields. Thanks to this agreement, the USSR will be able to receive many things from the EC. Furthermore, I have no doubt that Western Europe very much wants to expand economic and trade contacts with the USSR. Thanks to the integration process taking place in Western Europe, a powerful economic center is taking shape on the continent that in some respects exceeds even the United States and Japan. By concluding the agreement with the USSR, the EC has taken a very major step, since its access to a very great and very secure market has been guaranteed.

[Interviewer] Until relatively recently NATO was unwilling to establish contacts with the member countries of the Warsaw Pact...

[Shevardnadze] I want to point out that the decision to organize a meeting with the USSR foreign minister at NATO headquarters was taken collectively by the members of that alliance. The talks that I had with its secretary general, Manfred Woerner, and with the heads of delegations of the organization's member countries in Brussels were interesting and very useful. These talks—like others held in Brussels—reflect the processes of democratization and mutual rapprochement that have taken place across Europe. This phenomenon contributes to a better mutual understanding between all European countries and helps to end confrontation on the continent.

[Interviewer] Recently there has been an intensification of the discussions within NATO concerning the organization's new structures and tasks. This is being said in particular by American Secretary of State James Baker. What is your opinion of these discussions, with regard to future contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO?

[Shevardnadze] I believe that this approach of NATO's, on the whole, is correct. Our era tends to exalt the role of political aspects in the activity of the two alliances. We members of the Warsaw Pact have long stressed the need to politicize the two alliances more and are taking appropriate measures. Now we can see that NATO is mature enough to start changing its structures, too. The talks that I had at NATO headquarters in Brussels show that this organization is thinking seriously about the two alliances' future roles and about their relations. We will continue our dialogue with NATO. In general, it can be said that there already exists a permanent mechanism for developing relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is the same mechanism that we use for talks on arms and conventional armaments in Europe. The discussion of military doctrines that will start in Vienna in mid-1990 will be very important, from the viewpoint—among others—of future relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This discussion must form the foundation that will help us move on from confrontation to cooperation.

[Interviewer] What is your opinion concerning the present and future stages in the development of relations between Eastern and Western Europe on the basis of the changes carried out in the Eastern part of the continent?

[Shevardnadze] We have reached the conclusion that the cold war has ended and that a period of peace is starting in Europe. But this does not mean that everything will go well in the future. It is now more important than ever for all European countries to display their aspiration and willingness to do everything possible to preserve and consolidate stability on the European continent—above all in the context of the processes carried out in Eastern Europe. For the present we sense in all the European countries, the United States, and Canada a positive concern that nobody challenge the existing stability on the continent, because precisely a peaceful and normal development of the European process is the way to the creation of a truly united Europe. This advance is developing in all directions. The main trend must be channeled toward surmounting military confrontation, which forms the basis for the whole of this advance. If we succeed in concluding the Vienna talks as we have planned, the atmosphere on the European continent will change radically. The environment is another important sphere of our cooperation. The conditions have been created for taking real steps in this field. We believe that the environmental disaster that looms is a more real threat than even nuclear weapons. We are conducting talks on disarmament, and this process has already begun. But civilization does not yet know how to combat the threat of an environmental disaster and neither has it grasped its actual scale.

Germanys Need Improved Ties, Not Unification

PM1101113590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by Colonel V. Markushin under "Observer's Column" rubric: "Special Circumspection Needed"]

[Text] We favor the independence and state autonomy of the GDR and the solution of the German question within the European framework rather than a "special German solution." The Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] does not want a fourth reich that would strengthen NATO, destroy the European balance of forces, and terrify all our neighbors. This is how G. Gysi, the leader of that party, formulates this question today.

Meanwhile, the debate around the idea of the absorption of the GDR by the FRG continues. Its champions, who include official FRG Government circles, are accusing opponents of excessive caution, saying: A united German Fatherland will not constitute a threat to those around us, it will fit in a most natural way into the architecture of Europe.

Eloquent words, of course. However, international relations are by no means built on political leaders' recipes of eloquence which, according to [19th century Russian literary critic and social commentator] V. Belinskiy, always pursue a purely practical aim defined by time and circumstance. Time passes; circumstances change. The tonality and content of speeches change. Not just politicians are well aware of this, but also ordinary mortals. In other words, the broad masses whose historical experience has taught them caution and a considered approach to problems such as that of German unification.

This problem is tied up with other fundamental considerations which cannot be ignored. For instance, what status would a unified Germany have? It is no secret that some people are currently hoping that it would remain a member of the North Atlantic bloc. This idea is being disseminated with the help of the mass media. A few days ago, for instance, Radio Hessen broadcast an interview with A. Dregger, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union parliamentary party, who believes that a unified Germany must stay within NATO. However, this would mean strengthening NATO at the expense of the Warsaw Pact, undermining stability, and a worsening of the military-political situation.

Another important factor concerns the inviolability of the borders determined by the outcome of World War II. It is known that the present FRG leader, H. Kohl, has repeatedly declared his commitment to the letter and spirit of existing treaties. However, now that the border question is being actively whipped up by revanchist circles, a precise and clear affirmation of this stance is needed. It has not come.

Furthermore, the problem affects the interests of the Germans' neighbors. Here it is impossible to ignore the fact that they are worried about a possible disruption of the balance of economic and political influence on the continent, thinking, quite rightly, that no European country can act without taking the European equilibrium into consideration.

The United States finds itself in a special position. Its former propagandist unconditional support for a united German nation is giving way to a serious, concerned look at the center of Europe, where a powerful rival may appear and weaken Washington's influence in that key region.

No, it is not the acceleration of the process of uniting the Germans in one state which is the most topical problem today. Haste in this respect spells no good at all. The question of the creation of a system of reliable all-European security and reduction of military confrontation in the center of Europe is uppermost on the agenda. In this context the GDR leadership's proposal of the "security 2000 model" deserves attention. This model envisages, for instance, that both German states should embark on a process of demilitarization. Priority measures include the reduction by 50 percent in 1991 of the numerical strength of the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr, suspension of arms modernization, reduction of military service to 12 months, and others.

In general, what the Germans need are all-around and more intensive relations between the FRG and the GDR rather than the absorption of one sovereign state by another, which would be fraught with the desruption of stability and other complications. Such relations would, in the most natural way, promote the all-European integration process and benefit everyone.

Soviet Delegation Visits Interpol Lyon Hqs

90UN0568A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Are We Joining 'Interpol'?"]

[Text] An official Soviet delegation, consisting of 10 people and headed by USSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Demidov, made the first visit to "Interpol" headquarters located in Lyon, France.

During 2 and ½ days, members of the delegation, representing the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, the Main Customs Administration, and other departments became acquainted with the activity of the international criminal police organization. "Interpol" itself interpreted our visit as evidence that the Soviet Union plans to become a member.

"I am extremely satisfied with the results of the meeting that was held," Raymond Kendall, "Interpol" general secretary, said in a conversation with me. "Your specialists gave much attention to the work methods of the organization. They were interested in what information the Soviet Union could receive through its channels, how our subunits and services are arranged, what their budgets are, and what the crime situation is in the world. Now, in Paris your organization will become familiar with the activity of the French national bureau of "Interpol" and, on returning to Moscow, will report its findings. I think that within several months the Soviet authorities will reach a decision about whether they should join "Interpol." I hope that it will be positive. In any case, you have the time to think on it, because we can consider the question on USSR membership only at the next session of the organization, which will be held in September 1990 in Ottawa, Canada."

"The Soviet Union," continued R. Kendall, "is the only large country that is not on the staff of "Interpol," which includes 150 states. I have already talked about this repeatedly, and I say again: By joining "Interpol," both your country and the entire international community wins. The Soviet Union will get an opportunity to work with police on a world scale. Your specialists will be able to work directly with the Secretariat of "Interpol." With Soviet participation, our activity will also prove to be more effective, and we will become a genuinely universal organization. Only by joining efforts can we engage in a successful fight against international crime."

"What will the Soviet dues be for the organization's budget, which have to be paid in dollars?"

"We will have to consider this question. The largest sums are contributed by the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, and Italy.

"Based on the just concluded "Interpol" session, what are your main priorities?

"As previously, 'Interpol' is paying principal attention to the fight against narcotics, terrorism, the theft of works of art, and financial machinations. A new feature of our activity will be the fight against crimes whose victims are children and youths.

Contrary to the widely held opinion of "Interpol," the headquarters, in which about 80 police officers from more than 30 countries work, does not engage in operational activity, that is, directly with the investigation and arrest of criminals. With the help of the national bureaus—which are open to all member states—it coordinates the fight against international crime, and reports, stores, and disseminates criminal information. Therefore, the organization is frequently called a "world police memory." Its status prohibits the conduct of affairs of a political, military, religious, or racial nature.

The Lyon headquarters, into which "Interpol" moved several weeks ago from the Paris suburb of Saint Cloud, has the latest equipment. This is a powerful computer whose memory contains the names, photographs, and fingerprints of about 250,000 criminals from various countries of the world. Moreover, it has an advanced system of telecommunications and links that makes it possible to process and transmit about 3,000 reports to member states daily.

Forthcoming 'Open Skies' Talks Welcomed

LD1101021190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Preparations are under way in the Canadian capital for the opening of an international conference on open skies. Our correspondent Vadim Fotinov reports.

[Fotinov] Although a month remains before it opens, preparations are in full swing. This is to be explained by its level—the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries will be meeting in Ottawa—and by its content. It is a matter of the beginning of a dialogue between East and West, which will be determined by greater openness and greater trust in such an important sphere as the military one. It concerns open skies.

This idea is 35 years old. In the now far-off year of 1955, President Eisenhower proposed to Khrushchev at a meeting in Geneva that there be an exchange of inspection flights over Soviet and U.S. territories, first and foremost military bases and installations; but, as they say, the proposal was ahead of its time. First it was turned down by the Soviet side and then, after the Soviet Union had supplemented it with fresh initiatives, by the U.S. side. It was remembered decades later, in the spring of last year. Newly elected U.S. President George Bush then put forward his first serious foreign-policy initiative—on open skies.

In September the Soviet Union expressed readiness to take part in a special conference on this initiative, supplementing it with a proposal that the principle of openness be extended to the sea and to space. I think that such openness would have been inconceivable even a year to 18 months ago, not to mention the middle of the 1950's.

It would be naive to assume that the coming talks will be easy. Many issues have to be resolved, including the fundamentally important matter of the zones of openness. The Soviet Union is ready to open all its military bases to aerial inspection. In response, we expect that the United States will open not just its military bases on U.S. territory but also those in Panama, the Philippines, and Japan. The dialogue begun between the two most influential military-political alliances may go far beyond the framework of open skies. Its success will mean not only a greater degree of trust between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, but a real revolution in the very approaches and principles on which international relations may be constructed in the new conditions, conditions produced by perestroyka, glasnost, and the new political thinking.

United States & Canada

Negative Reaction to Scowcroft Remarks on Baltics

LD1101175990 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 11 Jan 90

["Scowcroft's Statements Inappropriate—TASS Comment."]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—By news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov:

The Soviet Union's characteristic feature is that it is a multiethnic country. The processes of decisive renewal of political and economic structures in the recent years revealed and in some cases aggravated interethnic contradictions in a number of regions.

The aggravation of interethnic relations impedes the processes of renewal to which all peoples of the Soviet Union are striving.

There is an acute interethnic tension in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. There are many reasons for this.

One of them is undoubtedly the discussion by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies of a Secret supplementary protocol to the Soviet- German non-aggression pact signed in August 1939, under which "the spheres of interests" of the negotiating parties from Finland to Bessarabia were divided.

That discussion is viewed by some groups of the population in the Baltic republics as a pretext for suggesting that they withdraw from the Soviet Union.

These separatist ideas are rebuffed by other groups of the population in the same republics who realise the advantages of economic and political integration within the Soviet Union.

These debates are quite acute. Deplorably, politicians abroad, holding high posts, are striving by their statements to exacerbate the situation in the Baltic region.

This is apparently the purpose of statements by Assistant to the U.S. President for National Security Affairs Brent Scowcroft. In an interview with the popular television programme "This Week with David Brinkley", he mentioned "forcible incorporation of the Baltic states" into the Soviet Union.

These deliberations utterly contradict numerous statements of head of the U.S. Administration George Bush about his support for perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union and the United States interest in international stability and security in Eastern Europe.

Scowcroft expressed the awareness that interethnic relations are among the largest problems that Mikhail Gorbachev "has to deal with at the present time," and this only emphasises the impropriety of his statements on this matter.

TASS Views U.S. Support for Perestroyka

LD1101130290 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 11 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS—New public opinion polls conducted in the United States early this year revealed that the Soviet policy of perestroyka and glasnost and the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy have strengthened Americans' trust in the Soviet Union.

The survey was conducted by the Committee on Common Security, a new public organisation that seeks to preserve peace and achieve progess in arms control matters, the Gallup Public Opinion Poll Institute and Daniel Yankelovich Incorporated.

Nearly 70 percent of the respondents said that the Soviet and American governments were moving away from mutual antagonism towards cooperation. About 90 percent of those polled consider Gorbachev an outstanding statesman who has concluded that it is much better to reach arms control agreements than to exterminate each other.

One of the most positive results of the recent poll is the positive assessment by ordinary Americans of the Soviet-American Malta summit last December.

Nearly two thirds of those polled were sure that the Malta summit and the current democratic changes in Eastern Europe are either ending or have already ended the "cold war" era. Nearly half of the respondents consider the Soviet Union to be a major supporter of world peace, while 90 percent regarded the USSR as a threat to universal peace in 1983.

Most of those polled believe that positive international changes and the improvement in Soviet-American relations have reduced the threat of nuclear war. Seventy three percent of respondents believe that a nuclear holocaust is unlikely. In 1981, 47 percent of Americans were afraid that a nuclear war would break out within the next 10 years.

More than 80 percent of Americans believe that it is necessary to cut expenditures on the Pentagon's military programmes, and not on social needs, education, medical care and aid to the homeless and poor. More than 60 percent of all polled spoke against developing and deploying the MX and Midgetmen missile systems, against the Star Wars programme and the construction of the Stealth B-2 bomber. Half of those polled believe that the United States should withdraw all troops from Europe, if the Soviet Union also take such a step.

Paul Walker, director of the Cambridge-based Institute of Peace and International Security, told TASS that the recent poll shows a breakthrough in Americans' approach to problems of war and peace, the future of our planet, nuclear disarmament and prospects of developing Soviet-American ties and East-West relations on the whole. The Soviet-American summits, which helped strengthen peace, have undoubtedly contributed to this process, he said.

Soviet, U.S. Officials Confer on Afghanistan

Bessmertnykh, U.S.Charge d'Affairs

PM1101164390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general headline: Official Reports"]

[Text] On 4 January USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh received J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, at the latter's request. Talks were held on questions connected with a settlement in Afghanistan.

Vorontsov, Ambassador Matlock

LD1101103490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

During the conversation, questions concerning the settling of conflicts in Ethiopia and Afghanistan were discussed.

Soviet-U.S. Trade Prospects Discussed

PM1101164990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "U.S. Businessman Received"]

[Text] On 5 January A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received J. Giffen, a prominent U.S. businessman and president of the American Trade Consortium. In the course of their detailed conversation they discussed questions connected with the prospects of developing trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

China

Rogachev, PRC Officials Discuss Cambodian Issue

OW1201111390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Diplomatic activities to gain understanding of the Cambodian issue are vigorously being carried out. A spokesman of the Soviet Embassy in China said this was also the central theme of the talks held in Beijing between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev and Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei. He said the talks proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Talks End, Differences Persist

LD1201100690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0604 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jan (TASS)—Today PRC Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen received USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, who is in Beijing for Soviet-Chinese consultations on issues in bilateral relations and on a Cambodian settlement.

In the course of a thorough exchange of views, mutual satisfaction was expressed with the dynamic development of bilateral relations since the May 1989 meeting of the USSR and PRC supreme leaders. Confirmation was given of the intention to further expand ties in various fields in accordance with the agreements reached.

As for the Cambodian situation, the conversation participants favored an active UN role in the elimination of regional conflict, and the prevention of the extension of military operations. The sides duly assessed the initiatives of a number of countries directed toward a political settlement. The need for the activation of the negotiating process at all levels was emphasized, and the importance of the forthcoming meeting on Cambodia of the representatives of the five countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council was noted. Nevertheless, there are still differences between the sides on some aspects of a Cambodian settlement.

USSR Ambassador to the PRC D.A. Troyanovskiy and PRC Vice Foreign Affairs Minister Tian Zengpei took part in the conversation.

Soviet-Chinese consultations on the further development of bilateral relations and also on ways of settling the Cambodian problem were held in Beijing on 10-11 January.

The consultations, which took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, were attended on the Soviet side by Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev and, on the Chinese side, by Vice Foreign Affairs Minister Tian Zengpei.

Upon completion of his 3-day working visit to the PRC, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev left for home today.

At Beijing's international airport Igor Rogachev was seen off by PRC Vice Foreign Affairs Minister Tian Zengpei and also by USSR Ambassador Oleg Troyanovskiy.

Northeast Asia

Visit by Japan's Abe Expected To Aid Dialogue

OW1201122490 Tokyo KYODO in English 1033 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 12 KYODO—Former Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe's upcoming visit to Moscow will greatly help develop political dialogue between Japan and the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomatic sources said on Friday.

The sources, describing Abe's January 13-16 trip as a "very significant event," said it will mean the creation of another channel of contacts between the two countries.

Abe, former secretary general of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), is scheduled to leave for Moscow on Saturday [13 January] as head of a high-powered LDP delegation—the first LDP mission ever to be invited by the Soviet Communist Party to visit Moscow. Abe will meet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday.

The Soviet sources, speaking to reporters in a regular press briefing, said the Soviet Communist Party will accept if Abe offers an invitation for the party to send a similar mission to Japan.

The Soviet Union expects Abe will first bring up Japan's territorial claim to four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido during a meeting with Gorbachev, the sources said. Abe and Gorbachev will cover a wide variety of problems, including a conclusion of a Japan-Soviet peace treaty, bilateral economic cooperation and disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region, they said.

The sources said Gorbachev may not specify the date of his visit to Japan due to various circumstances.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in a meeting with his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama in New York last September, said that Gorbachev will visit Japan in 1991. But the date of the visit has not been specified.

Japan To Play Important Global Role in 1990

OW1101130090 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Tokyo correspondent Potapov report]

[Text] A general review of 1989 has been held in Japan during the first week of the New Year. Radio Moscow Tokyo correspondent Potapov writes as follows:

Long reports analyzing major events of 1989 are published in newspapers and special programs are shown on television. Among the major events taking place in 1989 were the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, prodemocracy tension in Eastern Europe, and, of course, the USSR-U.S. summit talks in Malta. Interest in the results of talks held between Supreme Soviet Chairman Gorbachev and President Bush have not decreased, even now. The focal point concerns what role Japan itself should play at the end of the confrontation between the two major blocs and the establishment of a new international order.

The year 1990 which has just begun will probably be characterized by such concepts in various points. It goes without saying that Japan's huge economic power is capable of influencing not only the global economic situation but also the development of the international situation as a whole. Under the fundamental changes taking place in the world, the Japanese leadership's political responsibility has now become unprecedentedly important.

Such opinions are not only stated in letters sent to papers by their readers, but also frequently noted in dialogues with many representatives from various circles. In particular, it has been stated that Japan seems to have fallen behind the positive process taking place in the world, and concerns have been expressed over whether Japan will join in efforts to promote disarmament.

The Japan Socialist Party has submitted a proposal to the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors for setting up a special committee on disarmament, so that Japan can play a more constructive role in the issue concerning security in the world and in the Asian-Pacific region. This proposal probably reflects such a tendency.

Moreover the Komeito, the second largest opposition party, has also agreed to a review of the Japan-U.S. Security Pact, and it maintains that this treaty of a military nature should be changed into one with political and economic undertones. These ideas will certainly contribute to positive progress toward easing of tension. However, the Japanese Government is now moving along the line of strengthening its military alliance with the United States.

It is expected that defense expenditures will be further increased in the next fiscal year's budget. With the so-called pretext that the potential threat from the Soviet Union still exists, the Japanese Government has justified the necessity of increasing defense expenditures. On the other hand, the Japanese Government has promised that it will make efforts this year to strengthen peace, to ease tension, and to improve its relations with the Soviet Union. In particular, Prime Minister Kaifu has stated these views in his New Year message. In the coming year, we would like to watch what action the Japanese Government takes to fulfill its promises.

Official Describes Upcoming ROK Consular Ties

SK1201024990 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Jan 90

[From "News on Asia" program]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has reported that Soviet and ROK consular departments would open respectively at the mission of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Seoul and at the mission of the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation in Moscow in the first half of this year. This was told to TASS reporter (Aleksandr Aleshin) by the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Three to five functionaries of the consular departments will perform limited consular functions; respectively safeguarding the interests of the people of their countries, issuing visas and other necessary documents, (?looking after) their citizens in the country where they are assigned, and offering services to crews of the vessels and passenger planes of their countries.

Their activities will eventually help develop Soviet-ROK relations in the economic, cultural, industrial, and other fields.

The spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce and Industry stressed that the exchange of the consular departments does not mean the establishment of formal consular relations.

U.S. Korea Embassy Denies Chon Tu-hwan Charge

SK1101230390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[From "Asian News" on the "Focus on Asia "program]

[Text] The U.S. Embassy in South Korea issued a statement yesterday refuting former dictator Chon Tu-hwan's testimony at the country's National Assembly several days ago that Washington was involved in the assassination of his predecessor President Pak Chong-hui. The U.S. Embassy statement described this testimony as absurd and invented.

Chon Tu-hwan, on the last day the year 1989, stated that he was certain that the United States was involved in the assassination of Pak Chong-hui. Speaking before South Korea's Nation Assembly, he stated that in 1980 William Gleysteen, then U.S. ambassador to Seoul, and General John Wickham, then commander of the U.S. Forces in South Korea, advocated implementing martial law for Kwangju and supported the repression of the popular uprising there.

The U.S. Embassy statement referred to the official document of the U.S. State Department issued last year. According to this document, the United States did not interfere in the bloodshed in Kwangju.

No Tae-u Remarks on Inter-Korea Dialogue Noted

PM1101170390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On the Path To Dialogue"]

[Text] "I welcome the proposal by the North Korean leader to begin free trips for citizens and to open the doors fully for mutual contacts. These and other questions of national unification can be solved at talks between both countries' top leaders," South Korean President No Tae-u stated.

Speaking at a press conference, the head of the Seoul administration advocated holding a meeting of North and South Korean leaders to discuss problems concerning the expansion of dialogue between the two sides. As a first step to expanding dialogue and strengthening inter-Korean contact No Tae-u proposed setting up regular mail and telephone communications and allowing members of separated families to visit their relatives on a reciprocal basis. He also said that the South Korean side advocates setting up trade and economic cooperation with the DPRK and formulating joint projects.

No Tae-u reported that this year Seoul will reduce the scale of the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" military exercises and is inviting to them representatives of the DPRK, China, and also the member countries of the Korean Armistice Commission. This step, in his words, is intended to demonstrate the South's desire to improve relations with the North. About 200,000 servicemen and a significant amount of combat equipment are involved in the annual combined-arms maneuvers of the U.S. and South Korean Armed Forces.

No Tae-u Overture to DPRK

SK1201002590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the "Asian News" program]

[Text] This year, Seoul will reduce the scale of the "Team Spirit" U.S.-South Korean joint military exercise and will invite representatives of the DPRK, China, and Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission of the Korean Military Armistice Commission as observers to the exercise. This was declared today by South Korean president No Tae-u .

In the U.S.-South Korea joint military exercise, which is staged annually, up to 200,000 troops are mobilized. At the same time, precision modern technology, air force components, and warships are also mobilized. The DPRK opposes this exercise.

Speaking at his New Year press conference, President No Tae-u called for agreement on setting up a meeting of the leaders of the North and South to discuss expansion of dialogue between two Koreas.

But DPRK President Kim Il-song expressed hope for complete openness for free mutual visits and contacts.

DPRK Sees 'Team Spirit' as Reunification Block

SK1201013990 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the "Asian News" program]

[Text] The U.S.-South Korean military exercise "Team Spirit-90" will begin on 14 March and will last about 2 weeks. This was announced simultaneously in Seoul and Washington. The scale of the military exercise will be reduced to some degree.

In recent years, 200,000 troops have been mobilized in the exercise. This year, about 180,000 troops will participate.

The DPRK opposes the exercise, considering it to be a stumbling block to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

WPK Central Committee Hails Economic Successes

PM1101140790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Development Issues Discussed"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 Jan—Questions of the further development of the DPRK national economy and resource-saving measures in all sectors of the country's economy were discussed at the 17th Plenum of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee of the 6th Convocation, held 5 through 9 January.

The plenum noted that socialist building in the Republic during the eighties was marked by "glorious successes" and "great victories." The plenum set the future tasks in the sphere of coal extraction, power generation, and the production of grain, fabrics, and housing construction. Close attention was paid to the mining industry and railroad transport, to enhancing the effectiveness of capital investments and scientific and technical developments, and to developing foreign trade.

The plenum participants noted the need to step up ideological and political work among the working people. For this reason all party organizations must improve the ideological education of the working people, "firmly arm them with the ideas of chuche," and seek to ensure that they display "unparalleled selflessness" in combating difficulties.

Kim Il-song delivered the closing speech at the plenum.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Envoy Outlines Stance on Cambodian Settlement

BK1201071090 Hong Kong AFP in English 0652 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh, Jan 12 (AFP)—The Soviet Union preferred a "step-by-step" and "more realistic" approach to solving the Cambodian conflict over the efforts to find an overall settlement that have so far foundered, a Soviet diplomat said here Friday [12 January].

"If you keep insisting on an overall solution to the Cambodian problem, you're going to fail, as was the case at the international conference in Paris last August," said Aleksandr Lukyanov [name as received], a Soviet Embassy counselor.

"Our recent proposal for a moratorium on arms shipments to the Cambodian factions has to be seen in this light," said Mr. Lukyanov. [passage omitted]

But, said Mr. Lukyanov: "We do not envisage a unilateral cessation of our shipments as that would be counterproductive, but we are ready to do so in the context of an accord with the suppliers of the opposition." [passage omitted]

Mr. Lukyanov said that the moratorium proposal was discussed with Beijing authorities during the visit there this week by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev.

"The military situation (in Cambodia) is more-or-less stabilizing at the moment, especially in the area around Battambang, where the Khmer Rouge's offensive is bogging down," he said. [passage omitted]

Resistance forces have launched several offensives in the western and northwestern areas of the country since Vietnam announced a total pullout of its forces last September.

"These offensives, which point up that it's becoming more than a classic war, have allowed the opposition to control about one tenth of Cambodian territory, but these are largely uninhabited regions," Mr. Lukyanov said.

"Cambodian officials no doubt slightly overestimated the strength of their own Army while underestimating the opposition at the time of the Vietnamese pullout," he said, adding that the situation "is progressively improving for the government's army as time passes."

Mr. Lukyanov said that talks Monday and Tuesday [8 and 9 January] in Paris among the five permanent members of the U.S. Security Council—China, France, Britain, the Soviet Union and United States—were "perhaps very interesting" in light of an Australian proposal calling for Cambodia to be governed by an interim U.N. administration pending free and democratic elections. [passage omitted]

Cambodian Rebel Attack 'Senseless and Immoral'

PM1101104990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Boris Barakhta commentary: "Soft Strength Holds the Key"]

[Text] Pol Pot representatives have announced in Bangkok that their detachments launched a "victorious offensive" against the second largest Cambodian city, Battambang, foreign news agencies report.

The Pol Pot forces have made boastful statements several times before during the protracted regional conflict. But they turned out to be bluffs, intended to boost the Khmer opposition's prestige.

The past 3 months, since the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, have shown that the Phnom Penh government has the people's confidence and is in control of the situation in the country. Despite the foreign military assistance they receive, the opposition groupings are unable to radically alter the military situation in the country.

Of course, not only is the continuing armed conflict making no contribution to resolving the Cambodian problem, it is having a negative effect on the situation in Southeast Asia. The development of the situation in and around Cambodia in recent months and even days clearly shows that the issue cannot be resolved on the battlefield. The military trial of strength imposed on the Cambodian people since the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is senseless and immoral.

Displaying goodwill and making very considerable concessions, the Government of the State of Cambodia put forward a number of constructive initiatives aimed at resolving the conflict situation. For instance, amendments were made to the country's Constitutuion and the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops was carried out. Phnom Penh reacted positively to initiatives from Indonesia, Australia, and Thailand for settling the Cambodia issue. Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia Council of Ministers, declared his willingness to consider the question of setting up a UN body in Cambodia to monitor the implementation of accords reached by the Khmer sides and the organization of a general election, with the existing organs of power of both the government and the opposition remaining in place during the transitional period and on condition that Cambodia's seat in the United Nations was declared vacant.

The easing of international tension around Cambodia is also conducive to a Cambodian settlement. The Soviet Union put forward a proposal on establishing a moratorium on military aid to all Cambodian sides. There has been a move away from confrontation to the establishment of good-neighborliness between the states of Indochina and ASEAN. Vietnamese-Chinese dialogue has commenced. Thus, inside and outside Cambodia favorable conditions have been established for the people of that tormented country to decide their own destiny and to organize their own home by freely expressing their will under international supervision.

Flexibility and the ability to compromise have always been highly valued in Asia. Indeed, there is an oriental maxim based on the postulates of the ancient sage Lao-tzu: "What is hard lacks strength; soft strength holds the key."

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Meets With Israel's Weizman

LD1101181990 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] An Israeli delegation led by the minister of science and technology, 'Ezer Weizman, has visited the Soviet Union. In Moscow and Leningrad it met with representatives of scientific and public quarters. In Moscow, Weizman was received by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Our reporter Oleg Schedrov has interviewed the Israeli minister:

[Begin recording] [Weizman] Well, the main purpose was to come with a scientific delegation including four professors—we brought more [chuckles]—invited by the Academy of Sciences, by Academician Marchuk, to see, hear, understand, and come to some common ideas, and we've come to an understanding that there is a lot of cooperation that can be done between the two countries. Big Soviet Union, little Israel, but in science sometimes in a small country you can find a big brain. And this is also not only the scientific problem that I pointed out, but also proves that there is a beginning of the glasnost, not only here but worldwide. So, when I was invited, I thought it for scientific purposes definitely and for political purposes also a visit here can be a great contribution for my little country to improve the relationship with the Soviet Union that were cut after the Six-Day War.

[Schedrov] Can you say that your visit was successful as far as your objectives were concerned?

[Weizman] (?You know), people always like to see, ah, black-white, success or failure. I believe the world is grey, and there are obvious shades of grey. This is as close to white as possible. First of all the reception was terrific, I'm getting real good food, eh treatment here. I saw both technical scientific things and humanities. I was in the Oriental Center in Leningrad, I might be here too. And, to sum it up, when we sign what we're going to sign tomorrow morning and my talk with Mr Shevardnadze proves that this is a successful visit, but a successful visit is not counted by what has been achieved but what will be the continuation. [sentence as heard]

[Schedrov] Doesn't the absence of diplomatic relations between our two countries hinder the expansion of contacts?

[Weizman] It can work, definitely it can work much better if we have, or, when we have diplomatic relations, because after all, normal relations between countries make life easier. Even in diplomatic relations you have certain limitations, but, generally speaking, the answer to your question is yes, it can be much better when we have diplomatic relations.

[Schedrov] Could you please describe your meeting with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

[Weizman] (?Well, the talk was) for 2 hours and I think that both he and I could have carried on for another 2 hours. I think this is because both sides, (?because three sides) I think because I had a good impression, I hope he, that he also had a good impression. He seems to me a very open, very nice personality. I felt very easy and we discussed, we discussed lots, lots of very very important things. I didn't feel the time go by. So, my impression is a very very positive, very favorable one; I only hope again that this will not be a one, a one-time meeting and that we will meet again.

[Schedrov] Mr Weizman, didn't you get the impression that the Soviet Union and Israel are gradually approaching the restoration of diplomatic relations?

[Weizman] I think that yes. Mr Shevardnadze mentioned that the first step is to raise the level of the representation today that we have here and you have over there. I understand, I don't agree but I understand the problems the Soviet Union has with the Arab world. I think that this country that had so much strength in doing what it's done in the last 5 years will have to find strength enough despite certain (?places' criticism and certain places' applause] to reestablish normal relations between two normal countries. [end recording]

Weizman Interviewed on Talks

TA1001210490 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Interview with Science and Technology Minister 'Ezer Weizman by Yig'al Rom in Moscow on 10 January—recorded]

[Text] [Weizman, broadcast picked up in midsentence] the central issues, where he claimed—and I agreed with him—that time is not working in our favor, that precisely because of today's openness in which the future cannot be predicted—and he cited Romania as an example—if we do not accelerate the process, all sorts of things can happen. We also analyzed the military situation—weapons and such—clearly noting they are not too eager to pursue this game.

[Rom] What about the level of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union?

[Weizman] I emphasized from the start, actually I started out with it, that it is inconceivable the Soviet Union and Israel will not have diplomatic relations. I stressed in particular that although I cannot compare Egypt with the Soviet Union—Egypt still is an enemy country against which we fought for 30 years in wars that claimed the lives of the best of young men on both sides—the current situation is ironic. I asked: How can you accept this? I repeated this to him several times and mentioned to others as well that while the Israeli flag flies in Cairo and the Egyptian flag is hoisted in Tel Aviv, there is no parallel gesture in the Soviet and Israeli capitals. I therefore said, if you have any thoughts about delving into the process—and I am sure you entertain such thoughts—it is high time you stop acting behind the scenes and say what you have to say, if anything, out front.

[Rom] Did he not say things explicitly?

[Weizman] I do not mean his remarks to me. I mean in diplomacy.

I gave him an example. I told him: We have a representative here, of a certain echelon—although I am not too familiar with the levels on the diplomatic plane...

[Rom, interrupting] Indeed, why did he not participate in the meeting?

[Weizman] Do me a favor, please leave me alone.

[Rom] I am asking you a question.

[Weizman] So let me answer, let me talk.

As an official, I was asked that the only representative to accompany me be a member of the delegation [as heard]. I applied heavy pressure to have Arye [Levin] also come. They set the terms otherwise, however. I had a choice and could have decided not to go, that is true. But I believe that would have been a mistake. But on that occasion, I repeated three times: I think your attitude toward our man here is wrong. You will achieve far more by displaying a different attitude, but he is not here with me.

[Rom] Are you aware your meeting with Shevardnadze already has vexed people in Israel? What do you have to say to this?

[Weizman] Look, first of all I am sorry things annoy people. Let people notice the positive things that have come out of this. After all, I am the first minister to be invited here, and I was not just invited because of my blue eyes. This is an excellent visit, as you can hear from any one of the four professors if you care to ask them about what they already have seen, what kind of attitude they were accorded, with what degree of openness they met. Certainly this is an attempt to appease us.

The prime minister told me: Avoid meetings. Try not to conduct them. This was not an order or an instruction, but was very much like what he did when I was in Washington and the Soviet ambassador invited me. He told me: You will not go, and I said: Fine, I will not go. That was a request you must admit anyone else in my position would not have responded to any differently. As a guest here in this country, when the foreign minister invites you, how can you say, no, I received an order not to go? That is why, although I understand the sentiment, I hope this storm also will die out.

Additionally—and this is the main point—Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin asked me, and also gave me material on the MIA's, to try to approach the highest echelon and give them this material, because we cannot leave one stone unturned or any angle untreated. Upon receiving the invitation from Mr Shevardnadze—and I have material from Yitzhaq Rabin on [missing navigator] Ron Arad and our other MIA's from the war in Lebanon—I thought it would be right for me to meet with him, which I did. I left the material with him, and he even said they already had talked with the Syrians, although not yet with the Iranians. He added they [not further identified] understand the matter, will examine it, and keep us informed. I think this is a worthy move, even if it angered some people.

Shevardnadze Remarks Cited

TA1101123590 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 11 Jan 90 p A3

[Report by correspondent in Moscow Yosef Walter]

[Excerpts] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with 'Ezer Weizman, the Israeli science and technology minister, in Moscow yesterday. [passage omitted]

During the meeting, Shevardnadze listened to Weizman and wrote down nearly every word. Shevardnadze started out by saying that had the Soviet Union not severed diplomatic relations with Israel after the 6-Day War in 1967, a solution to the Middle East conflict might have been found: "It is a pity that such a solution has not been reached. I am sorry for this, but one cannot turn back the clock and we must find a new way. The absence of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union is not a healthy state of affairs; however, contacts on the personal level are constantly being held." The Soviet foreign minister recalled his meetings with Israeli Ministers Arens and Peres and sent them his regards.

The Soviet minister praised his guest: "Your opinions are progressive. You are a realist. Your contribution to peace is much appreciated both here and in the United States." Shevardnadze stressed that he is concerned about the deadlock in the Middle East peace process. "Today one can see changes for the better. Look, 'Arafat has made a 180-degree turn. This was due to Soviet pressure. It is still not time to reveal just how much we squeezed 'Arafat. Relations between Egypt and Syria have also improved. Here again, I cannot divulge the extent of the USSR's role. Nevertheless, things can also change for the worse."

Shevardnadze agreed that there are too many weapons in the Middle East and spoke in favor of disarmament. He expressed regret over the fact that Israel has not signed any arms control agreements. "A balanced agreement which takes every side's interests into account must be found. A solution that discriminates against one side or a one-sided policy are out of the question. We have a fixed policy which recognizes Israel's right to exist, but Israel must also consider recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people."

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out what he considered to be a bias in U.S. policy. He stressed that he does not oppose the Baker plan or Egyptian President Mubarak's 10-point plan. He said, however, that other plans should be considered. "The Arab states complain about Israel's vast military potential and they pressure the USSR to dispatch sophisticated armaments to Syria. The Soviet Union is trying to withhold these weapons, and Israel should take this into account," Shevardnadze said. [passage omitted]

Joint Cooperation Accord Signed

TA1201061990 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] In Moscow, Israel and the Soviet Union have signed a scientific and technology cooperation agreement. The agreement was signed yesterday by Science Minister 'Ezer Weizman and Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Marchuk, who also serves as the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The agreement takes force immediately and, within a month, a joint committee is to draw up proposals for research projects.

Ukraine, Israeli Trade Union Leaders Meet

LD1101133690 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev January 11 TASS—Satisfaction with the programme that was suggested in Kiev by a delegation from the General Federation of Labour in Israel (Histadrut) was expressed by its leader Aron Wolfovich, who is also a member of its supreme legal commission.

Wolfovich said meetings in the Ukrainian capital provided insight into many aspects of the Soviet restructuring programme.

The Histadrut delegation stayed for six days here at the invitation of the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions. The guests met Ukrainian Trade Union chief Vitaly Sologub, who told them about the main trends in the activity of the mass organisation, which numbers 26 million people. It was noted that during perestroika, trade unions have played an increasingly important role in protecting the interests of working people and implementing social programmes.

Wolfovich talked about the problems facing Israeli trade unions. He noted with regret that Israel and the Soviet Union have no diplomatic relations and spoke out in favour of building bridges of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The trade union delegation also included medical personnel. Under a mutual agreement between the Ukrainian trade unions and Histadrut, 50 children from regions afflicted by the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant will be sent for treatment in Israel.

"We sincerely hope that our aid will be effective. History shows that good relations between countries always start with humanistic aid," Israeli Professor Yair Shapiro said.

Members of the delegation familiarised themselves with the activity of a number of medical establishments in the Ukraine. During the delegation's reception at the

Ukraine's health ministry, they expressed reciprocal interest in establishing cooperation in promoting health protection. The sides made specific proposals concerning the exchange of specialists, consultations and some other measures.

The Israeli guests visited the recently established Republic Society of Jewish Culture in Kiev and went to an exhibition of the memorial complex "The Ukrainian State Museum of History of World War II 1941-1945."

The delegation left Kiev late on Wednesday.

Vorontsov on PLO Moscow Mission's Status Upgrade

PM1201115590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Transformation of PLO Representation"]

[Text] Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, hosted Arab ambassadors and charges d'affaires in the USSR 10 January and briefed them on the Soviet side's consent to the transformation of the PLO mission in Moscow into the Embassy of the State of Palestine in the USSR and the upgrading of the PLO representative's status to ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited with the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The heads of the Arab diplomatic missions expressed profound gratitude for this decision, which demonstrates the consistency of the Soviet position in support of the cause of settling the Near East conflict and finding a just solution to the Palestinian problem. On behalf of the Palestinian leadership and Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat, N. 'Amr, PLO representative extraordinary, conveyed ardent gratitude to the Soviet leadership and to M.S. Gorbachev personally for this new manifestation of solidarity with the Palestinian people, who are upholding their right to national self-determination and to their statehood.

Iran's Va'ezi Continues Visit to Moscow

Va'ezi, Voronin Discuss Cooperation

LD1001152190 Tehran IRNA in English 1408 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 10, IRNA—Tehran and Moscow are keen to further expand economic, commercial and technical cooperation, it was announced during a meeting in Moscow Wednesday between Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Voronin and Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi.

Among the topics discussed by the two were Iranian gas exports to Moscow, metallurgical cooperation, use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, cooperation between the national airliners, and holding of the first joint technical and scientific commission. The two officials also agreed that preliminary talks for the 12th joint Irano-Soviet economic commission would be held in Tehran late February or early March this year.

Va'ezi, the deputy for Euro-American affairs, arrived in Moscow on January 6, at the head of a delegation.

Va'ezi-Shevardnadze Talks Viewed

NC1101205790 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Sergey Salgirov commentary]

[Excerpts] In Moscow Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, met with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Va'ezi, who conveyed a personal message addressed by 'Ali Akbar Velayati to his Soviet counterpart.

In his message Velayati referred in a positive manner to the possibility of a meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, Iran, and Iraq. The Soviet side announced that Iraq has declared its agreement to the convocation of such a meeting.

In my opinion, the compliance on the part of Iran and Iraq on Soviet participation in talks on the issue of resolving the Iran-Iraq dispute indicates the level of Soviet ties with the two (?warring) sides. Soviet relations with Iran and Iraq, the two participants, whether in the economic or political field, continue to expand successfully. Mutual exchanges on outstanding international and bilateral issues, agreements on scientific and technical cooperation, and trade between the Soviet Union and Iran and between the Soviet Union and Iraq have paved the way for the implementation of reconstruction programs in these countries in the aftermath of the war. They have also contributed to the creation of more healthy conditions in the Persian Gulf area. [passage omitted].

In my opinion, the direct participation by the Soviet Union will help to remove the series of misunderstandings on the Soviet Union's relations with Iran and Iraq which had resulted in a diplomatic confrontation between Tehran and Baghdad. I refer to allegations by the TEHRAN TIMES some time ago that Soviet-Iraqi cooperation was responsible for endangering regional peace and tranquillity. In the view of this newspaper, this collaboration had been encouraged by the failure on the part of Baghdad to implement Resolution 598.

Such accusations were greeted by similar allegations on the part of Iraq as a sign of (?retaliation). Some time ago, the newspaper (AL-'IRAQ) published in Baghdad criticized Soviet-Iranian relations. It expressed the opinion that the bolstering of Soviet-Iranian ties and agreements between the two countries in the field of Iran's defense were aimed at aiding and abetting Iran's aggressive policy. Such assessments of Soviet relations with Iran are not very different from the reactions of some political personalities and the Western mass media to these relations. [passage omitted] The question arises: What has been perceived as so sensational or unprecedented in these matters? Does such cooperation not exist between the Soviet Union and Iraq? Is this phenomenon so unique or rare in international relations? What is relatively more important is the fact that the level of Soviet military cooperation with Iran and Iraq is minimal. Soviet relations with these countries are largely concerned with contributing to conditions which promote peace and tranquillity in the region.

In brief, the Soviet element can prevent the exacerbation of tension between two neighboring countries of the Persian Gulf. [passage omitted]

Majlis Bill on Bribery and Corruption Viewed

NC1101164790 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Exactly a month ago, the Iranian Majlis approved a special bill on the basis of which the country's judicial organizations were assigned to investigate all cases of bribery, speculative exchange dealings, and smuggling of goods and to prosecute all those who have amassed fortunes in this way. Now we draw your attention to our interview with Yuriy Andreyev, Moscow radio commentator, on the issue:

[Andreyev in Russian fading into Persian translation] He says that this is not the first time in the past decade that the Iranian Government has started a nationwide campaign against bribery and speculation. However, the dissemination of sensational articles in the country's publications and strongly worded statements by government officials, as well as token executions of corrupt elements and blackmarketeers, have not brought about any basic change in the conditions prevailing in the country.

Bribery and blackmarketeering continue to flourish in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Economic crises, which are becoming chronic, and the staggering rise in the cost of living have impelled the government to ration staple goods, foodstuffs, and other essential commodities in the country. However, these measures have not resulted in the basic solution of the existing problems. They have exacerbated the situation by producing new difficulties in the path of the government's current policy.

At present, the blackmarket in Iran is becoming more extensive and all kinds of goods are available at prices 15-20 times higher than those laid down by the government. On the other hand, the conditions seem conducive to hoarding, the issuing of coupons, and the bribery of government officials. As a result of all the above, in Iran in recent years a complete stratum of millionaires has come into being which has become opulent by taking advantage of the penurious and dire condition of the people.

What measures will be taken by the Government of Iran under such circumstances? Yuriy Andreyev says that the present government's (?cadre) is resolved to combat these conditions with total determination. In fact, in the month of August, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi- Rafsanjani, the Iranian president, set up a special committee to take firm measures against corruption and bribery in government departments. He gave instructions to the minister of interior to combat this social scourge.

At the end of October, Justice Minister Mohammad Shushtari announced that the dossiers of bribetakers and hoarders would be given priority and tackled in the courts without any kind of delay. He also stated that very stringent steps had been taken for the punishment of these individuals. Finally, a bill detailing special laws on combating bribery and corruption as well as hoarding was approved in the Majlis, resulting in the extensive seizure of the assets of newly rich millionaires. The confiscated wealth and assets were restored to their real masters or handed over to government foundations. In addition, the judicial organizations are obliged to submit reports to the parliament every 6 months on work done in this connection.

Are these measures taken by the government sufficiently effective in your opinion? Andreyev replied: It would be too much to expect that. Official measures can help to yield temporary results but one cannot expect anything more. Life's experiences have proved that such problems cannot be resolved merely through penalizing the culprits. To normalize the situation it is necessary to carry out two actions simultaneously; that is, together with consolidating the economic situation, the government should implement firm and well worked out measures aimed at eliminating social ills.

It appears that Tehran has the necessary determination to do this, but the economic situation has not changed.

Yemeni Unification Advances Despite Problems

PM0801164790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "Yemen Will Be United"]

[Text] Sana'-Cairo—The question of unifying the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] and the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] is not a new issue. A provision that unification should take place is included in the agreement that followed the end of hostilities between the countries. However, only now, after the 30 November signing of the unification agreement, has the process been placed on a serious political footing, both sides note. Just how will countries with very different political institutions and economic structures be unified?

Here is what 'Abd-al-Karim al-'Iryani, YAR deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said to your correspondent on this point:

[Al-'Iryani] The consistent steps toward unification worked out in Sanaa envisage submitting a draft constitution for examination by the two states' legislative organs. And in the prevailing situation it is unlikely that there will be any major changes to the text as a result of this examination. The process should not take more than 6 months. After the constitution is approved, it will be put to a nationwide referendum in North and South Yemen respectively. The entire transitional period should take no more than a year, after which the Yemen Republic will be formed.

[Velikiy] Mr Minister, it is already clear that the unification process will be difficult. What difficulties will both sides have to overcome on the road to a united Yemen?

[Al-'Iryani] There is a difference in the ideologies adopted in the two countries. There are also differences in the economic sphere. Thus the state sector prevails in the South Yemen economy, while in North Yemen there are no restrictions on the private sector. As for the political system, it will clearly have to be a multiparty system. [Al-'Iryani ends]

So there are problems on the road to unification, but these are clearly soluble, albeit not at one fell swoop. In general, it will clearly be necessary to avoid extremism on this question. A transitional period is needed, there is a need for both sides to be prepared to take well-considered steps. I am now absolutely confident that the two countries' leaders will make the utmost effort and use the utmost goodwill to carry out the agreement's conditions...

I also visited the YAR Legislative Council in Sanaa, where questions of overcoming the economic crisis—which address an acute need in the country—were being debated.

"We will soon start discussing the draft constitution for a unified Yemen," Parliamentary Secretary 'Ali Muqbil Ghufayn told me.

"Will the new state be a federation or a confederation?" I asked. "Both these options have been discussed in the two countries' newspapers."

"It's hard to say," was the reply, "the decision has now been made to examine this question in the legislative assemblies. The constitution which will be discussed mentions only a sovereign Yemeni state, so we will have to decide what form that state will take."

[Velikiy] How realistic is the 6-month timeframe within which YAR and PDRY parliamentarians will have to adopt the draft constitution?

[Ghufayn] Entirely realistic, I think. Even before it is over we intend to hold a joint session of the two parliaments and to reach agreement on all key issues. After a referendum on the proposed draft the parliaments will be dissolved and a unified legislative organ comprising delegates from constituencies approximately 50,000 strong will be elected. [Ghufayn ends]

The secretary of the North Yemen parliament also said that the current relaxation of tension and the improvement in the overall international climate are undoubtedly having a positive impact on constructive processes in the Near East.

Speaking at a Sanaa press conference, PDRY President 'Ali Salim al-Bid said that the highly complex problem of unification, which is of supreme fundamental and strategic importance for the destiny of the entire Yemeni people, is currently being resolved. The people, the PDRY leader said, are expressing a sincere desire for unification, realizing that this process is closely bound up with the development of democracy.

"We are fully resolved and ready to live as a unified people and to solve religious, tribal, and all other problems in a democratic fashion far removed from physical or intellectual coercion," the PDRY president stated.

Such in general terms are the opinions and intentions of the leaders and politicians of the YAR and the PDRY as regards steps to unify the two countries. The press, incidentally, is noting the existence of an opposition which is uninterested in unification. But the unification idea has taken a firm grip on the people's sympathies in both countries. The preparatory work in the capitals of the two Yemens—Sanaa and Aden—is proceeding against this backdrop.

Conditions Reportedly Set for Najibullah Removal

PM1001103190 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 8 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Ahmad Zaydan report: "Moscow Sets Condition for Najibullah's Removal—Noninterference in Its Internal Affairs"]

[Excerpts] Peshawar, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Informed sources have confirmed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that secret talks between the Soviets and the Afghan mujahidin were held recently and dealt with the removal of President Najibullah and his replacement by a government that properly represents the Afghan people, in return for the mujahidin's cessation of their activities in the Soviet Islamic republics.

The sources revealed that the talks were held in the FRG capital and the Soviet delegation was headed by Moscow's ambassador in Bonn.

Engineer 'Abd al-Rahim, director of the mujahidin news agency, has told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that a meeting was held recently in Islamabad between Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, chief justice in the mujahidin interim government, and Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan Viktor Yakunin.

'Abd al-Rahim, who is also the official spokesman of the Islamic Society headed by Professor Rabbani, expected the secret talks between Moscow and the mujahidin to resume shortly. [passage omitted]

According to the informed sources, at the recent secret round of talks between the mujahidin and the Soviets in Bonn, during which the Soviets discussed the question of removing Najibullah, Moscow set some conditions, including the nonexecution of the communists if a change occurs in Kabul, in addition to noninterference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs.

Observers noted that the Soviet peace proposal will not be affected if some communist elements are killed during the change process.

It is worth noting that the recent contacts between the two sides in Bonn were made after the Soviet Union's identification of the activities of some Afghan mujahidin individuals in the Tajik Republic as interference in its internal affairs. A spokesman for the Soviet intelligence department in Tajikstan announced recently that the mujahidin would be held responsible for their interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs.

Regarding that subject, sources close to [Islamic Party of Afghanistan leader Gulbuddin] Hekmatyar pointed out to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that two Afghan mujahidin were killed inside the Soviet Islamic republics while distributing Islamic books and copies of the Koran. [passage omitted]

POW Families Group Arrives in Afghanistan

LD0901140990 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 9 TASS—"We are here to thank President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan for his work, which led to the release of some Soviet soldiers held captive by Afghan rebels. We request his further assistance in this humane cause," Iona Andronov, the leader of a visiting Soviet delegation from the All-Union Association of the Families of Prisoners-of-War in Afghanistan, told TASS.

The delegation arrived in the Afghan capital today.

A message of gratitude to Najibullah was adopted at the first congress of POW's relatives on December 23, 1989. People from all over the Soviet Union attended the Congress, Andronov said.

"We regard our visit as a means to implement the congress-elaborated plan for the exchange of a second group of Soviet POWs for Afghan rebels, Arabs and Pakistanis captured in Afghanistan.

"As far as we know, Islamabad is satisfied with the way the Afghan side meets its commitments concerning the exchange," Andronov said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Diplomat Denies Military Advisers in Angola

MB1201094190 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Union declares there is not a single Soviet adviser in the (?field in) the present battles in southern Angola. A foreign ministry representative said as much at a briefing in Moscow. The U.S. Department of State recently claimed Soviet advisers have taken part in the south of Angola in combat actions.

The Soviet diplomat dismissed the claim as an attempt to divert world public attention from the flagrant U.S. violation of the international law—the invasion of Panama.

American military aid to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group, he pointed out, is the key cause of the persisting tension in Angola.

Progress on Angolan, Namibian Accords Noted

LD1101212190 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The chiefs of general staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, Angola, and Cuba have held a series of working meetings in Moscow to discuss ways of completing action of a New York agreement for a settlement in South-West Africa. Our observer Vladislav Chernukha comments.

[Chernukha][passage omitted] What progress has been made since the agreements for a settlement in South-West Africa were signed? Cuban troops have left Angola's southern regions and more than half of them are back home. The withdrawal has proceeded in full compliance with the coordinated timetable and it looks as if nothing will prevent it from being completed by 1 July of next year. One can hope for success primarily because South Africa has up till now generally abided by the obligations it took on. There have been almost no South African incursions into Angola, and Namibia's independence is in the offing. One can be regarding the prospects of west [as heard] African settlement with optimism also because South Africa's new President Frederik de Klerk, elected last September, told the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES recently that Pretoria views good relations with neighboring countries as a key foreign political priority.

Yet peace can be fully restored in South-West Africa no sooner than the internal conflict in Angola has been settled. For over 14 years now there has been sporadic fighting in that country between the regular Army and troops of the antigovernment UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group. After the New York agreements were endorsed South Africa stopped dispatching military assistance to UNITA, whereas the United States increased arms supplies to the Angolan rebels.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has long helped the young Angolan republic increase its defense capability. This issue must have been discussed by the Soviet, Angolan, and Cuban chiefs of general staff in Moscow, but by no means in the light of possible direct involvement of Soviet servicemen in the fighting against UNITA.

On Wednesday [10 January], a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman refuted the allegations that Soviet advisers have been present on the scene of fighting in Angola. The Soviet Union has no intention of getting involved in regional or internal conflicts of any kind. It will work to have such conflicts settled by no other than peaceful means and this holds true for the situation in Angola and South-West Africa as a whole.

'Routine Working Conference' in Moscow

MB1201110590 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Mikhail Tsirilov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] As a rule, the military are reluctant to comment on events that have something to do with their area of activity. It is understandable, due to the specifics of their position, which require a certain degree of secrecy—military secrecy.

Nonetheless, the results of a meeting in Moscow of the chiefs of general staffs of the USSR, Angola, and Cuba were made public, and held the attention of experts on South-West African affairs. (?Another thing) is that the talks in Moscow concentrated on the issue of a settlement in South-West Africa.

In this particular case, those who enjoy sensations of all kinds will be disappointed. There is nothing unusual about the Soviet-Angolan-Cuban talks. It was a routine working conference, no different from similar conferences that are held more or less regularly. The agenda was clear and simple, and timely: action on the New York agreements of 1988 on withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban military contingent. As you know, this issue was directly linked to the free elections in Namibia and her independence.

Although I described the agenda of the meeting as clear and simple, the events with which the conference dealt are anything but simple. True, the elections in Namibia are over, and the country is moving full speed ahead to independence. But the situation in the region remains unstable.

The center of the conflict has shifted to Angola, where UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] subversion has become more active and the organization is charging Soviet military advisers in Angola are taking part in combat on the side of the Angolan government troops.

It's no secret that there are Soviet military experts in Angola, in keeping with an agreement to that effect between the governments of the two countries. However, they are not directly involved in combat. Their task is to help Angola build a combat-ready army which could defend the country from hostile (?countries). But those facts are common knowledge, and there is no need to dwell on them in detail.

As to the Cuban military contingent, its pull-out from Angola is just about completed. In a short period, the Cuban military have managed to cope with quite a complicated problem, to return major military units and materiel to their country across the ocean. I want to stress that some of the Cuban units are returning home before the deadline, as was reached in the New York agreements.

The three-sided talks in Moscow over, the chief of general staff of the Army of Angola granted an interview to our Radio Moscow correspondent. For those who are interested, the interview will be included in our program tomorrow.

Devlopments in Ethiopia-TPLF Fighting Updated

EA1101142790 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Recently fierce battles have been fought between the Ethiopian Government and opposition groups. Our colleague Maksim Yevgenyev has filed the following commentary on the issue.

AFP, quoting a rebel station commentary, reported from Nairobi that the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] had recently captured Jihur. This village is 180 kilometers northeast of Addis Ababa. This news was not confirmed by other news agencies. However, the Ethiopian newspapers stated that there had been heavy fighting around Jihur.

According to the news reports we have received, the situation in Gonder now favors the Ethiopian Army. According to the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY, the Revolutionary Army and the people's militia forces recaptured the southern Gonder town of Debre Tabor last Saturday [6 January]. In the fierce fighting around the town, it was reported that four brigades [preceding word in English] and two regiments [preceding word in English] of the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF] forces were destroyed. At present the army of the Republic is clearing the rebels from around Debre Tabor. According to ADDIS ZEMEN, four districts in northern Gonder have been recaptured from the Weyanes [TPLF]. This is the first time that TPLF losses have been publicized since they started their offensive last August. It has been observed that news reports on the fighting are conflicting. In any case, all fighting involves death and destruction. All fighting will inflict loss of life on Ethiopian civilians in the war area.

The bloody war, which has been going on for several decades, cannot be resolved militarily. It is well understood that the solution lies in political means. Today the Ethiopian central government is giving priority to a political solution.

On the occasion of Christmas [7 January] the patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, His Holiness (Abuna Teklehaimanot), in his message to believers, called on them to support the efforts of the Ethiopian Government to find a peaceful solution. We hope that his call will be heeded, Maksim Yevgenyev concluded in his commentary.

CPSU Delegation Visits Sao Tome and Principe

PM1101131590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by G.F. Kondryukov, first secretary of the Vladimir Oblast CPSU Committee left for the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe 9 January in accordance with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe.

East Europe

IZVESTIYA Sees Albania as Resisting Change

PM1201102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[G. Mitkevich article: "Albania: January 1990"]

[Text] The winds usually blow in Albania during the winter, bringing with them rain from the Adriatic or snow from the Balkan mountain peaks. This winter the atmospheric phenomena have been joined by political winds arising from events in East Europe.

The democratic changes in the GDR, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia and, finally, the shameful collapse of the Ceausescu dictatorship in Romania have elicited an ambivalent reaction in Albania itself and around it. Albania's position with regard to these changes has been expressed with the utmost clarity: They are the internal affairs of those countries' peoples, who possess the inalienable right to independently decide questions affecting their own lives. The Albanian leaders have sent congratulatory telegrams to the people elected to the top state posts in those countries, expressing the wish for relations with Albania to continue to develop in the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation.

In connection with the events in Romania, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Foreign Ministry issued a statement emphasizing that Albania had always recognized and now recognized the Romanian people's right to independently decide their own internal affairs on the basis of full freedom, independence, and sovereignty. It expressed the sincere sympathy and friendship which the Albanian people have for the Romanian people and also the Albanian Government's desire to further develop the good-neighborly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

The question of the democratic transformations in the East European countries occupied a large place in the work of the Albanian People's Assembly session held at the end of December. Delivering the report at the session, F. Cami, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee, declared that what is happening in the East European countries does not concern Albania, whose path of development has differed and continues to differs from theirs. "The road we are traveling," he emphasized, "was not built by others. We chose it ourselves and are continuing to travel it in struggle and labor. Albania has its own special features, its own makeup and originality, which distinguish it from other countries in both East and West."

Certain forces in the West have reacted differently to the events in East Europe as projected onto Albania itself. Emigres of Albanian nationality organized a protest rally in Paris at the end of December against the violation of human rights in Albania, and sent corresponding petitions to the European Parliament and also to the governments of European countries. Leka I, pretender to the Albanian throne and the son of ex-King Zog of Albania, who lives in the Republic of South Africa, has also reminded Albanians of his existence and urged them to follow the Romanians' example.

Repudiating such attacks and provocative appeals, R. Alia, chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium and first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, pointed out in his New Year address to the Albanian people that the resumed slander campaign against Albania will not succeed in harming it. "We have never allowed and will never allow anyone to dictate his laws and norms to us," he emphasized.

A number of tasks in developing the country this year were advanced in the address. They include implementing the AWP Central Committee September Plenum decisions on developing democratic principles in party and state life, improving supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods for the population, and stepping up the policy of thrift.

January is a special month in the Albanian calendar. Albania was proclaimed a people's republic 11 January 1946. This year the anniversary coincides with the country's entering the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The fulfillment of the 5-year targets will largely depend on this year's results.

Last year Albania achieved the best results in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. GNP increased almost 7% during the year, while national income increased 10%. The positive changes apparent in economic development can largely be accounted for by the measures taken recently to improve the economic mechanism. Industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives have been granted more independence in questions of planning and production, material labor incentives have been introduced, and control over management activities has been stepped up.

The expansion of the country's foreign economic ties has also helped to accelerate national economic development. Albania maintains permanent trade relations with a whole series of countries—socialist and capitalist. Agreements on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation have been concluded with some of them. They include Bulgaria, Romania, the GDR, Cuba, the FRG, France, Italy, and Greece. Joint commissions for these kinds of cooperation have been formed with Yugoslavia and China. As a result, the volume of Albania's foreign trade increased 25% last year and topped $1 billion.

Regarding Soviet-Albanian relations, they have not yet been regularized. Their reinstatement on the basis of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in internal affairs would be in accordance with the interests of both the Soviet and the Albanian peoples.

POLITIKA Cited on Albanian Emergency Measures

LD1101212190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The [Belgrade] newspaper POLITIKA reported today that in Albania's second largest industrial city, Shkoder, a government order has been issued on adopting emergency measures. The police are strictly controlling the transport and movement of people. Proof of identity is again required from those Albanian citizens wishing to travel inside the country. In the capital, Tirana, the guard around the residence of the country's leader, Ramiz Alia, and of Hoxha's widow, Nexhmije Hoxha, who occupies the post of chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, has been considerably strengthened. The situation in Shkoder is very tense, says the paper. Last year, foreign agencies reported that there had been protest demonstrations in Shkoder and Korce against the country's existing regime, but the Albanian side officially denied these reports, calling them pure fabrications.

Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society Board Meets

LD1101175390 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Central Board of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society held its session in Moscow today on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of proclaiming Albania People's Republic.

The Soviet Union believes that the normalization of relations between the two countries and restoration of friendly ties with Albanian working people must be based on equality, respect for sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs and obligatory recognition of every people's right to freedom of choice, noted speakers at the session.

Bulgarian Measures Against Muslims Reported

Measures Evoke Protest

PM0901164790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent A. Kapralov: "The Only Correct Way"]

[Text] Sofia—As has already been reported, vigorous measures have been adopted in Bulgaria to eliminate the unnatural treatment of the country's Turcophone and Muslim population. Since 1984, when the persecution of Muslim names and customs began, the two sections of the Bulgarian population, which had previously lived in peace and friendship, have been systematically and deliberately set against one another. This has led to an intensification of Islamic fundamentalism and of Bulgarian nationalism. The bitter fruits, alas, are being reaped today.

The situation is particularly tense in the Kurdzhali region. There are constant rallies there. Members of the Turcophone and Muslim population are expressing support for the decisions of the party and state leadership and those who are guided by the "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians!" and "Turks Go to Turkey!" slogans are protesting. The rally participants have had meetings with a parliamentary group headed by A. Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly and leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU], which has gone to Kurdzhali.

The parliamentarians established contact with the independent committee of civic unity and had talks with members of labor collectives, the creative intelligentsia, and public formations that have arisen spontaneously. Temporary centers have been opened at the municipal people's council and at some enterprises, where the exchange of opinions is continuing.

Meanwhile, several thousand people gathered outside the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral and the National Assembly building, having come to Sofia from Khaskovo, Razgrad, and Smolyan. What united them was their objection to the political decision that has been adopted. The rally participants demanded a national referendum. They were received by V. Kalaydzhiev, secretary of the National Assembly Commission for the Protection of Public Interests and Civil Rights. He was presented with demands by the rally participants, who were threatening to stage a 2-hour warning strike 5 January. V. Kalaydzhiev said that all the arguments would be carefully considered at the National Assembly and a solution would be sought that would guarantee Bulgaria's territorial integrity and sovereignty and the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens.

On the same day there were consultations at the National Assembly connected with the upcoming roundtable meeting. Delegations from the Bulgarian Communist Party and BNAU and representatives of the union of democratic forces and other social-political organizations participated in the consultations. A joint declaration was adopted during the meeting. It says, in particular, that the decision to eliminate the violations of the constitutional rights and freedoms of Turcophone and Muslim Bulgarian citizens is entirely consistent with the people's desire to finally be rid of the grim legacy of the Zhivkov regime and build a democratic and humane society and modern rule-of-law state. This decision is fully in line with the Bulgarian people's democratic traditions, which were expressed in their struggle for independence, freedom, and human rights. This, the declaration stresses, is the only correct way to ensure the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

Urged to End Protests

PM1101095190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS dispatch under general rubric "Problems of the Day": "Appeal for Reason and Restraint"]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Jan—Now more than ever before we need a sense of responsibility, reason, restraint, and readiness for constructive dialogue to achieve the values which we all desire so much—democracy, tranquillity, and security.

Under this motto the public Council on the Nationality Question has embarked on its work at the Bulgarian National Assembly. Taking part in this work are representatives of the National Committee for the Protection of National Interests, of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, the leadership of the National Assembly, parliamentary groups and standing commissions of the parliament, and sociopolitical, independent, and church organizations.

The convocation of the public council, a National Assembly appeal to the citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic notes, has been prompted by fact that the nationality question has become a dangerous watershed: Polarization and confrontation within Bulgarian society have reached a point beyond which events become unpredictable.

The council proceedings will continue until 12 January, so that the document to be adopted by its participants can be submitted for examination by the upcoming National Assembly session. The session participants have issued an appeal to all the country's citizens urging them to end the strikes and rallies connected with the nationality question.

A meeting has been held between P. Mladenov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, and representatives of the National Council for the Protection of National Interests. Concern was expressed at the possible consequences of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, Council of State, and Council of Ministers decision to reinstate the constitutional rights of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population. Concern was expressed on preserving the national integrity of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the safety of its population in connection with the possibility of an outbreak of internecine conflicts.

'Revenge' Instances Against CPCZ Members Noted

PM1001125490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov report: "Shots in the Silence"]

[Text] Prague—The torrent of political news from Czechoslovakia shows no sign of drying up. It is reported that CSSR President V. Havel is to visit the Soviet Union at the beginning of February. V. Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, has said that the party apparatus, which formerly numbered 10,570, is being reduced by 8,000 people, while the Central Committee is preparing to move to another, smaller, building. The centennial of Karel Capek's birth was marked by a ceremony in the presence of the president and members of government.

The movements and parties have grown quiet in preparation for the election marathon; it appears that the revolutionary fervor of rallies and stormy passions has given way in society to a time of everyday work, reflection, and consideration of the feasibility and expediency of various changes. But against the background of comparative quiet and the reassuring trends, suicides, hunger strikes, and other drastic forms of political protest have become more frequent. What, one wonders, is there to protest about? And to whom?

During the night of 2-3 January Colonel I. Becvar shot himself in the head in his own office in Prague. This officer was under investigation in connection with police violence against a student demonstration on 17 November. A few days later Lieutenant Colonel J. Petracek, chief of the district administration of the national security corps in the city of Teplica, was found dead, also in his office. He left a letter giving the reason for his departure from life: the psychological pressure on him, in particular in connection with the actions of the forces of law and order against demonstrations in defense of the environment 11-13 November. The administration's staffers sent a letter to the president and Internal Affairs Ministry leaders demanding the protection of their rights, including the creation of a special trade union.

A few days ago Antonin Kapek, former member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of Prague City Party Committee (later replaced in that post by M. Stepan), was found unconscious, with a head wound, in his family dacha near the small town of Rokycany. Attempted suicide was established. President V. Havel telephoned the hospital where Kapek was, to inquire about his health. The doctors replied that he was out of danger. A. Kapek is now at home in Prague.

The newspaper RUDE PRAVO reported a hunger strike started by a worker on a village National Committee. The reason: accusations and threats against her from her fellow villagers, merely because she is a CPCZ member.

The "Civic Forum" leaders and the leaders of state have already stated repeatedly that discrimination and especially persecution of honest Communists and workers on law enforcement organs are impermissible and that the peaceful revolution should not be exploited in order to settle personal scores. However, it is clear that in some places this is not always heeded; excesess are infrequent, but they are happening. There are indications that employees of the CPCZ apparatus, which is undergoing cuts, are being refused jobs. As a rule no one will admit the existence of such cases and instances of discrimination are denied. But people complain, and go on insisting: We cannot find jobs.

It is well known that the "gentle revolution" took place in Czechoslovakia without acts of violence of vandalism, without, as people here remind you frequently, a single broken window. And that is splendid. But now vengeful sentiments are beginning to be manifested in places. Of course, far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn from individual cases. But can they be ignored?

Plethora of Political Forces in CSSR Viewed

PM1201100990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Motley Range of Parties"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government was in session Thursday 4 January. There were many items on the agenda—for example, the devaluation of the koruna in relation to freely convertible currencies and the raising of its exchange rate against the ruble, preparations for the CEMA session sitting, cooperation with trade unions, and state economic support for the church. The government approved a draft law on political parties, which it will soon put to the Federal Assembly Presidium. This is an urgent political question for Czechoslovakia today.

The Christian Democratic Party emerged in Czechoslovakia during the last days of last year. Approximately 500 people attended its constituent conference, held in Prague. The party's executive committee was elected, headed by Vaclav Benda, who is known as a "Civic Forum" activist. It was stated at the conference that the Christian Democratic Party wouldl be a party of right-centrist orientation. And it is not the only political formation in the country to have declared itself recently. Take the Liberal European Party, for example. It has applied for registration with the CSSR Ministry of the Interior and published a program document. It is clear from the document that the Liberal European Party supports the aims of "Civic Forum," is critical of all "attempts to improve the so-called socialist state economy," and considers private enterprise a guarantee of national economic progress.

In short, all this still has some way to go. But have the parties themselves, which are growing like mushrooms, now shaken down? The "green" party does not seem to be acquiring its expected strength: There is a great number of supporters of the struggle for a clean environment in Czechoslovakia, but far from everyone is in a hurry to join the party. Or take the fate of the agrarian party. Will it be strong enough? Perhaps: But, again, time will tell. Its orientation? For understandable reasons the peasantry in a relatively prosperous country gravitates rather toward the center, not wanting upheavals on either the right or the left. In addition, the Czechoslovak peasant has tasted many genuine fruits of socialist cooperatives and, quite frankly, does not lead a poor life.

From the very first days of the "tender revolution" I have been hearing talk here of the possibility and even the necessity of creating a left-wing coalition. But so far it is just talk. Is one possible? And, in order to create a left-wing bloc or find a different form of cooperation, of course, someone has to take on the task. Who? The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]? The social democrats?

So, there is a motley range of parties, unions, and associations. Curious things are also encountered. The president of the "Society for a Happier Life Today" sent CSSR President V. Havel a telegram proposing a meeting to discuss the problems of the "common European home." And newspapers carried a report that a... "Union of Czechoslovak Men" had been created. And why not, it was said, since there is a "Women's Union"?

Let us put joking aside, however. What does the current CSSR Constitution say about this motley range? However hard I sought a mention there of the status of parties, the regulation of their activity, and so forth, I failed to find one. As is known, Article 4, which dealt with the leading role of the CPCZ and, consequently, mentioned the actual word "party," has been repealed. The Constitution now speaks only of "public organizations." Of course, this means parties too. Until the middle of November 1989 there were five of them: the CPCZ, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and People's Party, and two more small parties in Slovakia. Can new ones emerge? The Constitution is silent. But parties come into being by themselves.

GDR's Modrow Meets General Lushev in Berlin

LD1101121190 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin January 11 TASS—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow met Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces, here on an official visit.

They discussed joint efforts to ensure peace and stability in Central Europe on the basis of defence sufficiency and equal security for all states.

The meeting was attended by GDR Defence Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffman.

SED-PDS Congress Delegate on Party Role

PM0901094490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by writer Marcus Wolf, delegate to the extraordinary congress of the Social Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS): "Trial of Strength: The SED-PDS and the Revolutionary Change in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin—It is hard to conceive now of the fact that only recently, 3 or 4 months ago, torchlight marches and similar show events were regarded as virtually the most important political events in the GDR. Today every day is so busy that it seems like a year. And when all the members of the SED Central Committee, including the Politburo, were forced to resign under pressure from the masses, time began to be reckoned in hours...

The present revolutionary change started with the stormy events of the evening of 7 October. On that day a peaceful demonstration in Berlin was dispersed. But a real tragedy could have happened on 9 October. It was on that day that a demonstration by hundreds of thousands of citizens was planned in Leipzig. I know what mighty amry and security forces were put on readiness in and around the city.

Among the events that literally fill every day, the opening of the border on 9 November and the organization of border crossings in the region of the Brandenburg Gate hold a special place. This had to be seen, if not in person then at least on television. Incidentally, one sign of the new times is the work of our television, which is now hard to distinguish in terms of promptness, frankness, and diversity of genres from West German television, whose programs can be received virtually throughout the republic's territory.

In the West, and first and foremost in the FRG, many politicians, including Federal Chancellor H. Kohl, not to mention the mass media, assessed the GDR's decision to open the borders as a step toward the unification of Germany. It may be imagined that such ideas are springing up in the East too. People say that you cannot build the common European home with a disunited Germany.

I think that this interpretation of events is erroneous. The same is said, incidentally, by many of our ordinary citizens in answering the persistent questions of Western journalists. The majority of our country's political forces—both the old, primarily allied, parties, and the newly emerged ones—state that they too see their country's future on the basis of a sovereign GDR.

The main thing now is to win the race against time. The new coalition government has published its objectives. They are to implement broad democratic reforms and the democratization of the economy and political structures—down to community level. To some extent the Soviet Union's experience over nearly 5 years will help us. But the old structures will objectively resist the innovations, and they cannot be destroyed at a stroke—anarchy must not be permitted in the country.

The difficult economic situation, the large debt in freely convertible currency, the neglected ecology—these and other questions demand the speedy utilization of various forms of cooperation with the West, including production sharing, credits, and joint enterprises. Of course, the danger exists that the capitalists will embrace us so tightly that they could stifle us. And here the Hungarian example, for instance, is of some significance for us. There is certainly much that is positive there, but there are also negative aspects: the significant stratification of society—the poor are becoming poorer, and the rich—richer... In view of all this, we must find our own path of development.

The implementation of urgent and necessary measures is considerably complicated by the decline in the prestige of the SED and to a considerable degree the state apparatus among broad strata of the GDR population. One can only wonder at the depth of the lack of understanding and the unwillingness even to take note of some of the realities of life on the part of the former leadership.

Time was wasted—trust was lost. The party is now feeling the full effects of that pernicious course. Unfortunately, the attempts to return to the old course, with only a few cosmetic adjustments, which were made during the preparation and holding of the October plenums of the Central Committee only exacerbated the party's situation. However, its ordinary members were not deceived—in response to their demand an extraordinary SED congress was convened, and took place in December in two stages, with an interval of a week. Its most important result was that the party preserved its unity and the delegates showed determination to boost the party's prestige and rally its ranks.

The question of the causes of the crisis in the party and society was examined. The report of the group in whose work I myself took part met with great support among delegates. The danger that the congress would become bogged down in settling scores with the former leadership was overcome.

The delegates, and indeed the entire GDR public, was waiting for the report by Comrade G. Gysi (he was elected chairman of the SED-PDS) on the party's next tasks. The report was well received. It gave a cogent explanation of a whole range of urgent issues, including that of the reunification of Germany. The party, in my view, explained convincingly why we should retain GDR sovereignty.

Practical questions of reorganizing the party were also touched on, and this process will proceed from the bottom, from the primary organizations. As for whether or not to retain party organizations at enterprises, here practice suggests various options. But in any event it is clear that territorial primary party organizations will acquire an entirely new significance. This is particularly important on the eve of the elections to the Volkskammer, which are to take place on 6 May.

The election campaign has in effect already begun. It took fairly acute forms at the congresses of other parties. They were held at almost the same time as the SED-PDS forum. I am referring to the Christican Democratic Party congress and the founding congress of the "Democratic Breakthrough." Here election fever can be clearly sensed, and, incidentally, this fever was not without some comparatively strong interference by West German parties. This could be seen at the Christian Democratic Party congress and particularly in Leipzig at the "Democratic Breakthrough" congress. One must not close one's eyes to the fact that recently nationalist slogans and banners have begun to appear among the demonstrators in the streets and squares, and neo-Nazi elements are raising their heads, supporters of those forces' West German leader, Schoenhuber. These manifestations elicited a public protest from democratic forces at rallies and in the mass media.

In the new conditions the SED, with the addition of the PDS, must fulfill a number of major and complex tasks. And, first of all, it must rally its ranks and partly create primary organizations from scratch, especially territorial organizations. At the same time it must concern itself with all the urgent questions: how to preserve a normal pace of work at enterprises in industry, transport, and all sectors of the national economy. New positions must be won in our society—on pluralist principles. This is a big job and a very intensive one, in view of the gross and sometimes malicious attacks on the party, its members, and in particular its local functionaries.

I believe the party has the forces it needs for radical renewal. It is present in all spheres of the GDR. It must regain its functions of political and ideological leadership. To that end the party apparatus should be changed and reduced.

The essence of the changes now taking place in the party is that we are genuinely trying to abandon the structures, the way of thinking, that we believe to be rooted in Stalinism. And this means not only the Stalinism that grew up historically in the Soviet Union, but also its varities in the GDR. This was manifested particularly graphically in recent years under the old SED leadership, when the turn toward perestroyka and glasnost had already taken place in the Soviet Union. It was during that period that the slogan of socialism in GDR colors was put forward. Not a bad slogan in itself, but those who advanced it had in mind not the revolutionary renewal of society, but rather the opposite: Citing the GDR's special conditions, they made it clear that the GDR should not follow the path of perestroyka and glasnost. The report at the extraordinary congress said on this point that the recent period could be defined as Stalinism in GDR colors.

We are convinced that it was not only the former leadership, but also the ossified structures that were to blame for the crisis in which the party and the whole of society find themselves. I will explain this with an illustration. The CPSU's course of perestroyka and glasnost elicited great sympathies in our party's ranks. This was true of ordinary party members and of many Central Committee members. And this was reflected in a number of publications and theatrical shows. Nonetheless, this almost unanimous understanding of the need for changes in the GDR was not put into practice. This lead first to profound ferment within the party, and then, on the eve of the crisis, virtually to open opposition to the leadership. The overcentralized structures—democratic centralism remained only on paper—excluded open discussions and democratic decisionmaking. Clearly a part was also played by the fact that many party members, myself among them, were afraid of undermining unity.

The demand to ban discussions of mistakes was made after the 20th CPSU Congress, although at that time our party had to some degree drawn its conclusions from the condemnation of Stalin's personality cult. It was then that the brake was applied—discussions of mistakes, it was said, will undermine the party's unity and prestige and its leading role in society.

In the last 2 or 3 years there have been reprisals against many communists on the basis of that requirement. Indeed, the undemocratic structures in the party, which did not permit the manifestation of the will of ordinary party members, largely led to the crisis. In effect the present democratic revolution came from below, without the party's participation. That is a very sad fact.

It has affected primarily the party itself—it has been reduced in size by almost one-half. But nonetheless it is still the biggest party in the GDR, with more than a million members.

The party's prestige should be won not through an article of the constitution, which, incidentally, has been revoked in the GDR, but through day-to-day work among the masses. The SED-PDS is a big, strong party which will play its part in society. How weighty that part will be, the elections will tell.

Political life in the country is in turmoil. There is much that is new or long forgotten. The people's creative, but not destructive energy has been released. The SED-PDS is ready to seek answers to many urgent questions.

Prokofyev Meets Visiting SED-PDS Delegation

LD1001195790 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee Yuriy Prokofyev and a delegation from the Berlin branch of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] met here today to discuss restructuring in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

Board chairman Heinz Albrecht, who heads the delegation, informed Prokofyev of the current situation in the GDR and its capital. He stressed that the difficult situation was caused by the mistakes of the former leadership of the country and the party, who ignored the development of social processes.

Albrecht noted that normalisation of the party and society will require completely new approaches from East German communists.

Touching upon the rapprochement with West Germany, he said that this process can develop only on the basis of respect for East German sovereignty and stressed that the rapprochement must be carried out only within the framework of the all-European process.

Prokofyev told the delegation about social and political processes in Moscow and the preparations of Moscow Communists for the upcoming elections to the Russian parliament and local councils.

The meeting, held in a cordial friendly atmosphere, discussed prospects for further cooperation between city organisations of the two parties. It was stressed that restructuring and democratic renewal of society in the Soviet Union and the GDR are characterised with the similarity of aims and help increase the authority of socialism.

GDR Party's Information Center Described

PM1101114190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov: "Talk of the Past and the Future"]

[Text] Berlin—The broad staircase rises into the auditorium where the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] consultation and information center is holding a meeting of workers of the board, scientists and philosophers, and economic leaders with members of the party and anyone who wants a meeting.

Questions of the political struggle have again come to the fore in the activity of the SED-PDS: The party has found itself in complicated conditions caused by the political crisis in society's life. Heated debates are under way in party organizations at all levels—in the primary links and in the regions and bezirks. The results of the emergency congress are being discussed.

The consultation and information center is a new form of work brought to life by new political requirements. Access is open to anyone—no preliminary agreement or pass is needed. The center has at its disposal two floors in one of the party board buildings. In them party workers conduct talks with visitors from morning to night. They can also talk over the telephone.

Uve Shtelbrink [name as transliterated] leads the consultation and information center.

"Our center is an innovation in party work," my interlocutor says. "It began to operate 3 weeks before the extraordinary congress and became popular immediately. Hundreds of visitors have come here. Many people have called us on the telephone. They have sent telegrams and letters."

The extraordinary congress is in the past. It may be said that it considered a considerable number of proposals. It considered both the wishes of those who were concerned for continuity and of those who would like the ideas of renewal to be reflected in the party's name.

The center has formed a special group for liaison with the public. It is headed by Joerg Vorholzer, deputy chief editor of the theoretical and political journal EINHEIT.

Having cast off the fetters of standardization, the GDR newspapers, television, and radio have now started to speak in different voices. They are giving wide coverage to the stormy political life and often turn to the consultation and information center for interviews. There are many questions What will the party's place now be in the GDR political system? How will it build its relations with other parties—both those which existed before and those which are newly emerging?

"Our consultation and information center," Joerg Vorholzer says, "is helping to ensure that glasnost and openness are asserted in the party's life. That close contact is established between the leadership and the party grass roots and that people come here with an open heart for a frank talk."

"What specifically perturbs the party members coming to the center now?"

"The range of questions is broad," replies Wolfgang Baumgart [surname as transliterated], a center staffer. "It is primarily a case of the renewal of the party, of the overcoming of everything which has caused it serious political damage. We are receiving many alarm calls about instances of the abuse of power, personal enrichment, and unjustified privileges which have occurred in the past. There are questions of how the party's financial assets are being spent."

Visitors are displaying concern that the idea of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union should acquire a second wind under the new conditions.

The flow of visitors has prompted the center leaders to undertake one further form of work—evening meetings. The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND announces their venue and time and the subject matter.

The first meetings were held once a week. Later, if the need arose, more frequently. The topics are diverse and touch on everything which perturbs the people. They have also renounced the forms that were customary in the past—the long report and speeches from the rostrum. Microphones have been installed in the auditorium for those who want to ask a question or share their concerns and ideas. And you should have seen the lines which formed to use them! The meetings discussed the situation in the party—after all nearly 900,000 people have left its ranks. There has been talk of the situation in the national economy. There has been discussion of questions of creating a rule-of-law state. Talk about cultural problems has occupied a prominent place.

I recently paid another visit to an evening meeting at the consultation and information center. The subject was: "Political work in the residential region." The SED-PDS is now shifting the center of gravity of its work away from the enterprises and to where party members live. The party organizations at many plants, factories, and institutions and in army units are being abolished. On the other hand large primary party organizations at people's places of residence are being newly formed.

Heinz Mirtschin, a member of the SED-PDS board organizational commission, delivered a brief introductory speech at the meeting. He mentioned the big antifascist meeting in Berlin's Treptower Park, which brought together 250,000 people. The meeting proved that the party is a significant political force.

One after another the congress participants approached the microphones. They described the situation locally and the feelings in the party ranks. Withdrawals from the party have still not stopped. But at the same time the SED-PDS is also acquiring new members.

The speakers raise an important question: Under the new conditions of political struggle the party must issue agitation materials—posters, leaflets, and stickers—promptly. After all, there are printing plants! It must learn to conduct dialogue to a high standard, to talk with people and persuade them. It must not expect to be given details and to be prompted on every question from above, as was the case in the past, it must attack without surrendering the battlefield to other political forces.

"The consultation and information center," its leader, Uve Shtelbrink, said, "was first conceived as an instrument serving to prepare the party's extraordinary congress. Life has shown its effectiveness. It has now been decided to make the center permanent."

Disagreements Surface Over GDR Security Force

PM1001091790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "'Roundtable' Controversies. 'Roundtable' Held in Berlin This Week for Fifth Time"]

[Text] Berlin—I would remind you that representatives of all political parties and public movements, including new ones, and the church are meeting at the "roundtable." Despite sometimes considerable differences of opinion, consensus has hitherto been reached here. This time, however, contradictions have arisen among the participants and have been left open until the next session, scheduled for Monday.

Everything went smoothly at the beginning of the session, chaired by churchmen. Christa Luft, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for the economy, spoke on behalf of the government. A document was adopted in which the "roundtable" recommended that the government's emergency measures to stabilize the economy while guaranteeing social security for citizens and ecological demands be maintained during the transitional period, that is, until the general election in May, and that the elaboration and implementation of economic reform be facilitated.

Christa Luft devoted another speech to the tense political situation within the country. The following question was raised: Is it easy for Hans Modrow's coalition government to operate in conditions where some parties have rejected socialism in their programs? The government bases its activity on the statement issued last November. This says that the GDR will remain a sovereign socialist state, state ownership will remain the predominant form of ownership of the means of production, combines will be developed, and the right to work, free education, and medical services will be observed. C. Luft spoke in detail about the country's currency problems, the regrouping of the work force, and the economic development concepts currently being elaborated.

The question of disbanding the national security department was raised at the "roundtable." A decision was adopted on this several weeks ago; new structures—an intelligence service and a service to defend the constitution—were set up to replace the body which compromised itself under the Honecker regime.

A heated debate flared up over this question. Representatives of nine new political parties and movements demanded that the government postpone the services' formation until May. W. Schnur, chairman of the "Democratic Breakthrough" Party, spoke on behalf of the opposition. He effectively issued the government with an ultimatum: If it rejects the opposition's demand, then the latter may reject future participation in the "roundtable."

A serious situation has emerged and the "roundtable," which has convincingly demonstrated its importance in a difficult situation like the present one, has been jeopardized. Things are not easy for Hans Modrow's government, which is working itself, so to speak, into the ground. Borders are open with the FRG and West Berlin, and hundreds of thousands of people cross them every day. Without doubt, the influx of visitors from the West, who include, to all appearances, many special service agents, neo-Nazis, various kinds of speculators, and drug traffickers, is creating unwanted problems for the GDR. Elementary state interests require reliable defense against encroachments on the GDR's sovereignty, stability, and security. Four months without the special service called upon to conduct an implacable struggle against neo-Nazism, fulfilling the clause of the GDR Constitution regarding the inadmissibility of neo-Nazism, may free the hands of those people who dream of finishing off the emergent democracy. That is of concern to all our GDR friends.

The next session of the "roundtable" is scheduled for 8 January. People here are awaiting this day in trepidation and hope. I would like to believe that the "roundtable" will work fruitfully, despite the controversies, to create the requisite conditions for really free and democratic elections.

TRUD Views Year-End Situation in GDR

90UI0247A Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 Dec 89 p 5

[Article by TRUD special correspondents Yu. Vasilkov and V. Nikitin: "The GDR in These Days']

[Text] The lights of the Christmas tree, it seems, have become brighter than in the past, and the sound of voices is louder, in the cheerful New Year section of the city not far from Alexanderplatz. The capital of the GDR is greeting 1990 with hope.

The shelves in the stores can in no way be called empty. But if something is lacking, any resident of East Berlin can freely "run" to West Berlin. There is opportunity and money for this. The press, radio, and television are full of stormy discussions about the past and the future of the country and about all of Germany, and at times you hear such expressions that just yesterday one could only allow oneself to say in confidentiality with a trusted friend.

The mood is complicated. Hope alternates with anxiety, and the joy of acquired freedom with the bitterness of deep disappointment. Joachim Klish, a regular worker in the well-known Berlin enterprise "Elektrokol," expressed himself figuratively in an interview with us: "I came of age only in my sixth decade..."

Joachim is an old member of the party. Like everyone else, he was shaken by the exposure of the former leaders who abused authority and deceived the people. A deep impression was also made by the truth that was disclosed about the real situation of the working man in the West. And, nonetheless, Joachim is troubled most of all today by the fact that a vacuum seems to have formed in the plant party organization. Since October, when especially difficult times set in, and when, as never before, there was a need to be together, meetings are not being held, and political information has stopped. Even engineer Ehrenfried Kwekker, an enterprise delegate to the extraordinary congress of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of the GDR] did not meet once with the collective and did not talk about the work of the higher party forum.

Perhaps this is explained by the fact that now everything can be read or heard? Yes, Joachim agrees with this. But, still, it is unusual not to have confidential instructions or advice...

Some, bidding farewell to the past, instinctively experience a kind of nostalgia. Others, to the contrary, are impatient to see more rapid changes. The point of view is quite widespread that any delay only aggravates the crisis. One of the speakers at the SED congress cited the (Bune) combine as an example, where, because of the indecisive action of the party committee for exposing the policies and actions of E. Honecker, the party ranks fell by more than a half... And this is not an isolated example.

The congress came out for a transfer of the center of gravity of party work from enterprises to the place of residence. This means it is necessary to get used to a new and more democratic form of party work. Just as the time requires drastic changes in economic life.

We are talking about this with Wolfgang Mayer, who is a member of the government of the GDR and an official press representative. He characterizes the economic situation in the country as very serious. Difficulties in the economy were accumulating during recent years at the same time that the press and official forums presented an embellished picture. Meanwhile, since the seventies, the annual and five-year plans were not being fulfilled. Prices were growing in a concealed way, and interruptions in supplies were increasing. The growth in wages after 1975 exceeded the growth in labor productivity. The depreciation in basic funds was increasing sharply, and the municipal infrastructure was lagging.

The situation was aggravated by a mass flight of a large number of able-bodied young people to the West—Mayer cites the figure 200,000 out of 317,000 who left. There has not yet been any qualitative analysis of those who departed, but it is already clear that predominant among them are workers from the sphere of services, middle and advanced medical personnel, and drivers. The shortage in worker positions is being partly covered owing to a reduction in the managerial apparatus, organs of state security, and the Army. But the problem remains.

Are there possibilities for overcoming the difficulties? W. Mayer believes that there are. However, there is an analysis in this regard that was performed by the government. There is a whole series of unquestionable achievements of the GDR—such as, the presence of a developed industry and qualified workers, a highly productive agricultural economy, a developed cooperative movement, and, finally, the solid international position of the country and its strong ties to such powerful partners as the USSR—all of this gives grounds to look to the future with optimism.

Incidentally, in our discussions with various people in the GDR, the problem of material sufficiency was rather rarely raised. Of course, there was occasional discussion of the richer showcases in West Berlin, and of the possibility of its average resident to buy a car or to take an interesting trip abroad. But at the same time the people we talked to also took into account the real benefits that they have in their own GDR—at least a rather successful resolution of the housing problem or a well- established medical service, especially for elderly people.

The underlying tenor of the conversations concerned the political changes that were coming to a head. We also spoke about this with (Stefan Finger), a member of the board of the Social Democratic Party of the GDR. The party was created just a few months ago, and it has not yet held its inaugural congress, but it has rather loudly let its presence be known.

It is a typical road that led Stefan—still a very young person—to the ranks of the social-democrats. He was born and grew up in Rostock. He served in the Army, where he joined the Union of Free German Youth. But four years ago he left its ranks, because he thought that he was being discriminated against because he was a believer. This move did not give him an opportunity to enroll in a foreign relations institute. He graduated from pharmaceutical school, but the dream of a diplomatic career did not leave him. He had already decided on departing the GDR, when he became acquainted with the founders of the Social Democratic Party who offered him the position of representative for international relations. The party's program, which was created on the unusual initiative of a group of three priests and a Marxist historian, suited him completely. It does not contain extremism, and it proclaims the slogans of freedom, democracy, and socialism. And Stefan enthusiastically got involved together with his colleagues in the creation of a new party. In its very first steps it was able to make contacts with the Socialist International and nearby related parties of Europe, including the FRG.

Naturally, we turn to the question of German affairs.

"We are for the unity of the German nation, but with the existence of two German states," Finger says decisively. "We must realize that in the near future Europe will remain split into two military blocs. Both German states could provide an impetus for a reduction in the arms race—each in its own bloc. We believe that a complete resolution of the German question will be timely not at the beginning of the building of the European home, but rather at the end..."

Knowing that a pair of twins is growing up in Stefan's family, I ask:

"What do you think, in which country should they live?"

"I think in the GDR. And I am very happy about this," the young social-democrat answers without a moment's hesitation.

An overwhelming majority of the population of the country is for the preservation of the GDR, even if in a possible confederation with the FRG. This was also recognized recently by the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL. But there are also other tendencies. It is worth at least mentioning the meeting on 19 December in Dresden, with the participation of G. Kohl, chancellor of the FRG, at which tens of thousands of supporters of fraternization with the FRG assembled from all parts of the republic. Slogans that were proclaimed there were of the type: "The Federal state of Saxony welcomes the federal chancellor..."

It is typical, nevertheless, that the patriotic mood—for the preservation of the GDR—is characteristic of a substantial part of the youth. New organizations are arising in the place of the collapsing Union of Free German Youth, and they, basically, set their first task as putting their own house in order.

A youth organization is also being established in the ranks of the trade union movement. This is the part that is experiencing perestroyka, which we were told about by Werner Peplovski, the chairman of the preparatory committee for the preparation of the extraordinary congress of trade unions of the GDR.

"We see the fundamental trouble with the former Association of Free German Trade Unions in two aspects. Excessive concentration of authority in the center and excessive attachment to the ruling party," he said. "The first aspect became the reason for lack of control, which was taken advantage of by Harry Tisch and those close to him. The second led to a catastrophic break from the masses and the division of responsibility for political mistakes. The task of the congress we are preparing is to open the way for the kind of model of a trade union movement which would ensure appropriate representation of the interests of the workers regardless of their belonging to any kind of party, professed religion, sex, or citizenship."

Peplovski thinks that today a sober trend prevails in the social life of the GDR, despite the swift changes. What will happen in the future? The chairman of the committee answered the question this way:

"I must admit in all frankness that much depends on the development of the political situation. If it stabilizes, then structures and trends that are already noticeable will develop. But other variants cannot be excluded either..."

Indeed, all of the people we talked to and the mass media of the GDR note with alarm the more frequent display of extremism and impatience. The sprouting shoots of nationalism, extremely dangerous in German soil, make one especially alert... But, still, one wants to believe in a bright future. The wisdom and dignity of the industrious and talented German people are a token of our hope.

Reportage, Commentary on GDR Neo-Nazi Activity

Incidents' Importance Explained

LD0901205990 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] There have been increasing signs in the German Democratic Republic of neo-Nazi elements getting more active, which certainly adds to the problems involved in the restructuring processes in the republic. Among these signs are desecrated monuments, neo-Nazi slogans on the walls of houses in Berlin and Gera, Goerlitz and [name indistinct], Dresden and Leipzig, to name only a few of the places. Our commentary by Mikhail Mayorov [follows], and this is what he writes.

When some youths spray "Heil Hitler" on a wall, it is rather an act of hooliganism than something more serious. But when it is not an isolated act, (?when) something is happening more and more often, when the swastika symbol is combined with calls for joining the neo-Nazi Republican Party, this is more than just hooliganism. If people in the GDR are beginning to talk, and not only at public, but top level, about a threat from the right, this means that no one can afford to underestimate the scale of what is happening.

This is all the more so that Nazism is not merely a blank page in history, especially for the Germans themselves and for the Soviet people, who suffered worst in the past war. Nazism is not something that can be put up with, even if its sprouts have germinated not on your own but somebody else's soil. The millions of lives lost on battlefields and in death camps are not just one of the results of Hitler's crusade. Today, nearly 45 years after its defeat, it is the duty of all and each to do their utmost so that Nazism remains a thing of the past.

The current developments in the GDR are not at all simple and not only from the point of view of their dynamics or scale. What also matters is response to them. Are they supported fully? If we formulated the issue this way, we would distort the situation both in the GDR and in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist model of socialism is dying, although hard. There is resistance from people opposed to democratization, diversity of views, and openness. Whether those who paint swastikas on the walls of houses realize it or not, they are a danger for the current revolutionary processes, and maybe the main danger considering their ideas and potential ability to organize. And here I'd like to repeat, concludes Mikhail Mayorov, any outbreak of neo-Nazism is not someone else's internal affair, especially when it concerns not only the future of democracy in the GDR but the future of an all European home. What should it be like? With swastikas on its walls? No, for the sake of the past and present we all owe those GDR residents who are determined to block the way to neo-Nazism.

Prepetrators' Origins Examined

PM0901151590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent V. Chudov dispatch specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Where Did the 'Desecrators' Come From?"]

[Text] Berlin—The coming of the new year and the passing of the old has sharpened the "colors" of sociopolitical life in the GDR. There have been slogans such as "Russians Go Home!" scrawled on the memorial to the Soviet liberator-servicemen in Berlin's Treptower Park, neofascist slogans on walls in the cities of Pirna and Goerlitz, paint daubed on the monument to the revolutionary workers movement in Halle and in the Marx and Engels forum in Berlin, defiled Soviet graves at the cemetery in Gera, and defaced Jewish graves in certain other cities. On the whole, all these "colors" have merged into an extremely gloomy hue which in no way matches the renewal taking place in the country.

How are we to view what has happened? Are the attacks on the memory of Soviet servicemen and German Communists and antifascists comparable with acts such as the deliberate damage to the chariot at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin recently? Can both be explained as the price that perestroyka has to pay in the GDR and as the need of some young people to assert themselves by demeaning everything that "used" to be sacred?

As Wolfgang Meyer, GDR Government spokesman, noted in conversation with this TASS correspondent, incidents like those which have occurred recently also took place in the GDR in the past, only then it was preferred to "ignore" them. They were not part of the picture of socialism in the GDR which was created on the orders of the former leadership of the republic's mass media. More and more motley extreme right-wing groupings gradually emerged in the country. Quoting GDR Ministry of Internal Affairs figures, Meyer reported that today these include around 1,000 clearly neo-Nazi and nationalistically motivated people who fail to realize that their actions are neofascist in nature, along with frankly criminal elements attempting to give their attacks a semblance of political motivation. On the whole they are people aged 17-35, half of whom are skilled workers in industry and construction, while the other half are workers in the services sphere and communications, as well as teachers at general education schools and vocational and technical colleges. Under the new conditions of open borders with the FRG and West Berlin this category of GDR citizen finds it easier to obtain propaganda literature and other support from foreign extreme right-wing groupings.

The desecration of Soviet graves and antifascist relics is just part of the "action program" undertaken by GDR neo-Nazi forces. According to research done by GDR Ministry of Internal Affairs specialists, these forces are pressing for the FRG to leave NATO, for the GDR to leave the Warsaw Pact, and for the restoration of the German "reich" in its 1939 borders together with the full retention of its armed forces. Extreme right-wing groupings hold no brief for foreigners whose skin is "too dark," punks, homosexuals, or state security staffers—particularly those with Socialist Unity Party of Germany badges.

May I make so bold as to claim that the current upsurge in nationalist sentiment was to a certain extent prepared by the former GDR leadership, which, while not seeking this aim, regularly held propaganda campaigns akin to the "rehabilitation" of the Prussian spiritual legacy. While aiming to achieve national consolidation within the GDR, it bolstered in a certain section of the republic's population the idea of German superiority per se.

Responsibility for the fact that some of yesterday's—and, frequently, today's—schoolchildren were transformed into neo-Nazis full of hatred for everything socialist also lies with the republic's system for educating the next generation. This fact was pointed out by Rolf Henrich, spokesman for the leaders of the "New Forum" opposition movement, who—unequivocally describing the desecrators' actions as criminal—emphasized the need to radically review the entire public education system from preschool institutions upward, and to profoundly and comprehensively analyze the reasons for the spread of neo-Nazism among young people.

Calling on the GDR public—above all, young people—to show vigilance, the newspaper JUNGE WELT wrote the other day that now is not the time to be discussing the Soviet Union's domestic problems or to ask whether the number of Soviet servicemen in the GDR corresponds to the number of Western armed forces facing them. We must immediately rally all Christian, Marxist, pacifist, Jewish, social democratic, and liberal antifascist forces in the struggle against neofascism.

Neofascists' Arrest Reported

PM1001103990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Culprits Arrested"]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jan—Cases of the manifestation of neofascism and the appearance of extreme rightwing slogans and fascist symbols on the walls of houses and in the cemeteries of Soviet servicemen in a number of GDR cities are giving rise to protests and the resolve to struggle against the revival of Nazi ideas. Measures are being taken to uncover the culprits and an investigation is being conducted into each individual instance.

Today a report has come in that the investigation organs have uncovered the participants in an act of this kind in Gerlitz (Dresden Bezirk). It has emerged that they were a girl and boy pupil in the eighth grade of a local school and a 20-year-old invalid working in a handicraft cooperative. The city's inhabitants helped in identifying them. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against the culprits.

The arrested people confessed that on 29 December last year they had daubed swastikas and slogans reading "Jews out" on a monument to the people persecuted under Nazism and in other places. The investigation established that the initiator of the action was a 15-year-old schoolboy who openly stated his adherence to the ideals and aims of the neofascist "republican" party operating in the FRG.

These young people, according to the police, have now been handed over to their parents' supervision. A search is under way for one more participant in the action—a vocational and technical college student.

This is already the second case of the GDR criminal police uncovering participants in neofascist attacks. On 3 January those guilty of desecrating the graves of Soviet servicemen in Gera City. They also turned out to be young people. They were raised in normal families, had no previous convictions, and did not belong to rightwing radical organizations.

What are these, childish "pranks?" I think the problem is far more serious.

Increasing Activity Seen

PM1001130090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "Atmosphere Becomes Heated Again"]

[Text] Berlin—On Monday it was only just possible to prevent a collapse of the "roundtable" at which representatives of political parties, social movements, and the church had gathered for the sixth time.

The opposition was dissatisfied with the report of the authorized government on the course of disbandment of the national security department, and issued an ultimatum demanding a meeting with Hans Modrow within 2 hours. When it emerged that the Council of Ministers chairman had flown to Sofia for the CEMA session, it was decided to break off the "roundtable" session until next Monday.

Very important topics, among them the law on elections and the law on parties and associations, remained to be discussed.

The "roundtable" sessions, which began largely in a constructive atmosphere, have now become so heated that the future fate of this democratic organ, which is important and undoubtedly necessary to the GDR, is hard to predict today. The opposition is stepping up the pressure on H. Modrow's government. In parallel, there is growing pressure on it from the FRG. Voices coming from West Germany are heard more and more frequently here: It is being said that Chancellor H. Kohl should not meet with H. Modrow in the near future, as was agreed last month. That meeting will strengthen the positions of the GDR Government, which, it is said, is none too willing to meet the opposition halfway on a number of issues.

In Leipzig, the "Monday" demonstrations resumed, and some 100,000 people marched through the streets of the city. The calls for the unification of Germany were louder than ever. Representatives of various parties, including the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union, were issuing pamphlets containing these calls: "No more socialist experiments! Free elections against left and right radicals!"

The evening news program on West German television showed these shots: Neo-Nazis from the FRG are handing out to participants in the Leipzig demonstration recent copies of the newspaper REPUBLIKANER. On the front page is a large headline: "Unification Now! Hold a Referendum in East and West!"

Demonstrations involving many thousands of people have taken place in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Cottbus, Halle, and Neubrandenburg.

The neo-Nazis have stepped up their activity markedly. Nazi slogans and swastikas drawn by them are appearing everywhere. The newspaper BERLINER ZEITUNG reports that, according to estimates, in the GDR there are at least 1,500 of the new Browns—the precise number cannot be determined.

On Monday, Nazi symbols and slogans a meter high were painted on an S-Bahn car on the Friedrichstrasse-Erkner line.

Commentary on Neo-Nazi Roots

LD1101112590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Konstantin Patsyuk Commentary]

[Text] The investigative bodies of the GDR have traced and brought criminal charges against those who took part in neo-fascist outrages in the towns Goerlitz and Halle. They turned out to be a group of senior schoolchildren from these towns, and also an 18-year-old apprentice and a 20-year-old member of a craft cooperative. It was they who defiled the graves of Soviet soldiers and a monument to anti-fascists. Here is our commentator Konstantin Patsyuk.

[Patsyuk] Several years ago, while on a business trip to the GDR, I visited one of Berlin's schools. I remember that the prevailing atmosphere there was described to me as very unhealthy, where there were many breaches of the law among the pupils and pro-Western feelings were widespread, as I was told at that time. Why hide it? There now exist even greater oportunities for the spread of such feelings in the GDR, including neo-Nazi ideas from West Berlin and the FRG.

Another matter is the extent to which this is legitimate. For example, West German neofascists, taking advantage of their new rights of entry into the GDR, are clandestinely taking in revanchist literature and contriving to pass it on to participants in the current mass demonstrations of the working people. Yet, the main danger of neofascism for the GDR, both previously and at present, as it seems to me, does not come from outside. After all, the Berlin school was unfavorable in this sense, so to speak, even when the Wall virtually sealed off the capital of the GDR from West Berlin.

The causes of this have to be sought elsewhere, I think: in the fact that unhealthy, revanchist feelings had long ago captivated a certain proportion of the youth of the GDR, and even at that time there had existed neofascist groups there, while the country's previous leadership ignored it and pretended that there was no sign of such groups, or at best, their activities were recorded; that is, presented to onlookers as the individual outrages of rampaging hooligans. It now turns out that this is far from the case.

As was stated at one of the antifascist meetings by Gysi, chairman of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] we must devote some thought to how we bring up our young people. It is from them, after all, that the neofascists are formed; in the main, from the generation that grew up under socialism. These words are fresh confirmation that, until recently, due attention was not devoted in the GDR to the antifascist education of young people, that there are gaps, and serious ones, in this matter. Specialists have yet to gain a thorough grasp of all this, and express their attitude to the current education and teaching system in the schools and colleges of the republic.

Activity Seen as 'Irresponsible'

PM1101131190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent S. Zyubanov "Rejoinder": "Sent Packing"]

[Text] West Berlin, 10 Jan—At the border crossing on Potsdamer Platz, where people normally freely cross the border in both directions from morning until evening, something unusual happened. GDR border guards refused to let an elderly FRG citizen pass. This news was immediately picked up by all the newspapers and radio and television broadcasts.

The point is that the man who was "sent packing" was none other than the head of the neo-Nazi FRG "Republican Party," Franz Schoenhuber, who had come to West Berlin from Munich in order to then honor the GDR capital with his presence.

The time chosen by Schoenhuber for his travels is no accident. After all, the election campaign has now opened in the GDR. And the West Berlin "Republicans," as is well known, declared a few days ago that they want to put up their candidate in the elections in the GDR (!). Schoenhuber perhaps?

The question arises: Where does this brazen self-confidence of the FRG neo-fascists, their sense of impunity and total license, come from? After all, less than a week has gone by since the mass antifascist demonstrations protesting the defilement of Soviet monuments in Berlin's Treptower Park and other GDR cities, yet the "Republicans" and members of the NPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] have dared to operate openly at the mass demonstration in Leipzig, disseminating their inflammatory leaflets and slogans.

Obviously, they are largely inspired by the frankly irresponsible stance of the opposition parties and organizations in the GDR, above all the Social Democrats and the New Forum, who regard the activities of the GDR neofascists, if not as entirely harmless, then at least as not dangerous. Furthermore, the local Social Democrats have ventured to claim that the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] is deliberately exaggerating the danger of a revival of fascism in the GDR in order to boost its chances in the upcoming elections.

Meanwhile the neo-Nazis continue their activities without running into a joint rebuttal from the left-wing forces.

GDR Revives 1949 Words of National Anthem

PM1001101990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "GDR National Anthem"]

[Text] Berlin, 6 Jan—Henceforth the GDR national anthem will be performed on television and radio with the words written in 1949 by Johannes R. Becher.

W. Meyer, GDR Government press spokesman, stated that the decision made more than 20 years ago to perform the anthem unaccompanied by the words is being rescinded. The decision, he stressed, was made deliberately with a view to avoiding contradictory discussions about the anthem's phrase "Germany, united fatherland." It was thought that these words would be grist to the mill of right-wing extremists and nationalist forces. However, the anthem without words also symbolized to a certain extent a loss of identification with one's own state and the motherland, a loss of civic self-awareness. It also marked a break with the country's history and with the time when Becher wrote the lines.

The words of the anthem composed and written by Johannes R. Becher abroad in 1949 formulate what are today the spiritual demands of the GDR people and accord with the tasks facing them: to struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples, to create an antifascist-democratic basis for the country, and to promote its further development. Without doubt, they also reflect the national aspect, which for both sovereign German states lies in the further shaping of their relations in a spirit of good-neighborliness and in the interests of the citizens of the two countries and the peoples of Europe.

Ryzhkov Denies Troops Protected Romanian Reactor

LD1101221490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1342 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union did not send troops to protect the Romanian nuclear power plant from being blown up by terrorists supporting deposed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov said here Thursday.

Ryzhkov said that Romania had not asked for Soviet help in protecting the nuclear plant and that the Soviet Union had no intention of doing so.

Border Restrictions With Romania Eased

LD1101230190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] During the recent visit to Romania by Comrade Shevardnadze, both sides agreed to ease visa conditions on the Soviet-Romanian border.

[Correspondent I. Petkov] The Prut is a border river, but it is already possible like this to scoop out some water. [video shows man filling pails with water from the river] The water here is exceptionally clean, because along the whole length of the border, the approach to the Prut has been strictly guarded on both this side and the other and there has simply been no one to get it dirty. It would be fine if it could be like this in the future, but without the barbed wire fences and the plowed surveillance strips, which the border guards have begun to remove. [video shows border guards with dogs on patrol; border guards dismantling barbed wire fences; video then shows interview with B.G. Arutyunov, commandant of the border section, identified by caption]

[Arutyunov] On the section for which the commandant's office is responsible we have to date opened up 46 km and 433 meters.

[Petkov] These are the first kilometers on the territory of Moldavia's border area with Romania?

[Arutyunov] Quite right.

[Petkov] Well, a detail of your border guards are now going off along the border, but they are not carrying submachine-guns. [video shows three or four border guards with a dog going off on patrol]

[Arutyunov] We consider that the border detail during daylight hours do not need weapons.

[Petkov] And during the night?

[Arutyunov] At night, the appropriate pickets go off to guard the border with submachine-guns and ammunition.

[Petkov] Well, although borders are, as they say, under lock and key, they should function reliably. Along the border on the Moldavian section eight crossing points for eased visa conditions have already been opened. These conditions are similar to what operate on the USSR's borders with Hungary and Poland. Obstacles to free contacts between the inhabitants of the border areas of Moldavia and Romania that have existed for decades are being removed. [video shows more dismantling of barbed wire and then vehicles moving through crossing point]

Romania's Militaru on Army Role, Warsaw Pact

PM1101172990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Telephoned dispatch incorporating interview with Army General Nicolae Militaru, Romanian minister of national defense, by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "The Army Did Its Duty"]

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jan—[Oliynik] Comrade Army General, the mass media covered extensively the army's support for the Romanian people during their uprising. Nonetheless, could you tell us in more detail about the army's role in the revolution?

[Militaru] Inspired by patriotic, antidictatorship sentiments, and acutely aware of the catastrophic material and spiritual consequences of the Ceausescu clique's antinational policy, the army, together with the people, played an active part in the revolution which toppled the regime of terror and oppression. During the national uprising hundreds of thousands of demonstrators chanted "The army is on our side!," "Servicemen—do not forget that we are brothers!" History has preserved moving scenes of fraternization between the demonstrators who thronged the streets and squares during those unforgettable days and the country's loyal sons in military uniform. Army servicemen together with young people fighting in patriotic detachments took part in the fighting against the terrorists and ensured the protection of the main economic and administrative installations and buildings in Bucharest and throughout the country.

The army discharged its duty to the people. It took part in the revolution with its entire personnel, throughout the territory of the country. The fiercest clashes with the repressive forces of the old regime took place in Bucharest, the center of the people's uprising for freedom. Subunits of virtually all troop categories including armored and tank units took part in the street battles here. Thanks to the army, the National Salvation Front had in its posession installations of vital importance for the conduct of revolutionary operations—television, radio, the telephone exchange, and so forth.

The army also engaged in fierce fighting against forces loyal to Ceausescu in the cities of Sibiu, Brasov, Arad, Constanta, Craiova, and other population centers.

[Oliynik] Were there any instances of army subunits resisting the demonstrators?

[Militaru] It follows from my reply to your first question that all subunits and units of our army, that is, its entire personnel, went over without hesitation to the side of the people's masses which had risen up. And together with them they fought resolutely and selflessly against the gangs of terrorists who had been trained especially by the dictator to defend the odious Ceausescu regime. The fanatic gangs, equipped with the latest weapons and special apparatus and using secret munition dumps, were the Ceausescu clan's strike force. Their senseless resistance, even after the trial and execution of the dictator, produced numerous casualties both among the civilian population and army servicemen taking part in the fighting.

[Oliynik] What did really happen to former Minister of National Defense Colonel General Vasile Milea, on whom the rank of army general has been bestowed posthumously?

[Militaru] General Milea is a hero of the revolution, not the traitor which the former dictator Ceausescu unjustly accused him of being. Despite threats, he courageously accepted tremendous responsibility and issued the order, in keeping with national interests, that under no circumstances should the people be fired upon. It is possible to claim that his decision made it possible to avoid bloodshed on a larger scale, changed the very course of the revolution, and made it possible for the army, from privates to generals, to join the popular uprising and become its main support.

Thanks to his courageous step, for which he paid with his life, Army General Vasile Milea has become a symbol for our entire army which did not fire, could not fire, and will never fire on its own people.

[Oliynik] As is known, the new political power structures are in the process of being formed in the country. What are the army's tasks in this connection?

[Militaru] As in Romanian society as a whole, a process of transformations is taking place in the army. They reflect the content and aims of the liberation revolution, the platform of the National Salvation Front. Of course, we must eliminate as quickly as possible all the negative phenomena that derive from the old regime's attitude toward the army and the influence on it of the Ceausescu personality cult.

But our chief preoccupation at the moment is to harmoniously integrate the army with the other organs of the new democratic power. To provide all the essential conditions ensuring that the army exclusively carries out the policy of the Romanian state and can no longer be placed at the service of the interests of a particular party or political grouping. As is known, in accordance with a law of the National Salvation Front Council, servicemen and civilian employees of the army cannot be members of any political party. Accordingly, we intend also to establish a cadre policy in the army which will be based on the principle of individual professional training and moral purity.

Naturally, proper combat training of troops in the light of the lessons arising out of the army's involvement in the recent revolutionary fighting is one of our paramount tasks.

[Oliynik] Romania is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Will it stand by its obligations?

[Militaru] Essentially, our country's attitude toward the Warsaw Pact states is shaped by Romanian foreign policy, which stems from the National Salvation Front program. It is geared to the development of good-neighborliness, cooperation, and peace and will contribute to building the common European home and strengthening security and cooperation in Europe. It is in this context that Romania's international commitments will be observed, including our commitments within the Warsaw pact.

[Oliynik] Comrade Army General, what would you like to say to conclude our talk?

[Militaru] During the grim ordeal that Romania and our people underwent we sensed the ardent solidarity of the whole world. Certainly we were gratified by the fact that the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev were among the first states and political leaders to support our revolution. The National Salvation Front was recognized and contacts were established with it. We were also deeply moved by Soviet people's ready response and humanity in giving us material assistance—medicines, food, clothing, and so forth.

I will take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Soviet people for this selfless fraternal assistance.

USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's recent official visit to Romania encourages the hope that new bridges of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation will open between our countries and peoples.

Romanian Government Decrees, Trials Reported

PM1101172590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "For a Renewed Romania"]

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Jan—The country's population has welcomed measures taken by the National Salvation Front Council to abolish the antipeople laws of the Ceausescu regime and also to resolve the most important socioeconomic problems and improve people's living conditions. These measures include the latest National Salvation Front Council decree on passports, which allows every Romanian citizen to travel to other countries without a visa.

The National Salvation Front Council has also decreed that, beginning 1 January this year, all "markups on prices" of essential commodities and foods to cover so-called additional transport costs are being abolished. The prices of all commodities and foods are now the same in cities and rural areas. However, a ration card system is still being preserved in some regions of the country for food distribution.

The National Salvation Front Council declaration on the rights of ethnic minorities in Romania is also being animatedly discussed in the Romanian capital. In particular, the declaration refers to recognition and guarantees of ethnic minorities' individual and collective rights and liberties, which should be incorporated in the country's new constitution. It has been reported that work is in progress on a law on ethnic minorities and that a nationalities ministry is to be formed.

A large student delegation from Timisoara has arrived in Bucharest. The envoys of this city, which began the revolution, are addressing student lecture halls and labor collectives in the Romanian capital. I met student Janka Sandor, a Hungarian national, in University Square by the Wall of Remembrance, where the blood of the young people who rose up was shed and where funeral candles are kept constantly burning.

"I will not hide the fact that we are proud that the spark of revolution flared up in our native city," Janka said. "We walked side by side with the Romanians under the dictator's bullets and now, together, we will do everything possible for the renewal and prosperity of free Romania."

The terrible past has not receded, however. It will trouble people's minds and hearts for a long time to come. This is evidenced by the legal proceedings at the military tribunals, which are examining the cases of those who led the reprisals against unarmed people and on whose conscience hundreds of dead and injured lie. Most of them are members of the former security service, the "Securitate."

I was informed at the National Defense Ministry that the military tribunals include civilian judges as well as army officers. Legal proceedings against arrested terrorists will be held in the near future in Bucharest, Timisoara, Arad, and other cities in the country. As the death penalty was recently prohibited by a National Salvation Front Council decree, many of the accused face the prospect of prison sentences of 10 years or more—depending on the nature of their crime against the people. But this measure will be decided in strict accordance with the law and on the basis of actual evidence of guilt.

Late in the evening of 8 January, the first sentence passed by the military tribunal in Sibiu was announced on the radio. Major I. Bundea, a member of the "Securitate," was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment. According to the evidence of eye witnesses, this terrorist seriously wounded an army officer during the December events.

Romanian Leader Meets Diplomatic Corps

PM1101121190 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 5

[TASS report: "At Meeting with Ambassadors"]

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jan—Romania is entering a difficult period in its development—a period of building a new society in political and economic terms. The entire people have been mobilized to ensure a normal life and to affirm sociopolitical relations in our country on a democratic basis. I. Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, stated this in a meeting with the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest.

During this development, I. Iliescu stressed, we would like Romania to open up broadly to the world in international life in order to eliminate everything which previously clouded relations with some states and to eliminate all barriers—which will make it possible to broadly develop multilateral cooperation with all countries of the world, primarily with neighboring countries, with the European states, and with everyone with whom Romania has diplomatic relations. We want to be active in international life and in the struggle for disarmament, cooperation, and broad collaboration.

Speaking on behalf of the ambassadors accredited to Bucharest, Soviet Ambassador to Romania Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, doyen of the diplomatic corps, wished the people's revolution, the country's leaders, and the entire Romanian people peace, prosperity, and success in renewing society, consolidating the gains of the December revolution, and implementing its lofty and noble ideals.

New Romanian Ambassador Arrives in Moscow

LD1101114990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1019 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—Vasile Sandru, Romania's ambassador to the USSR, arrived in Moscow today.

Received by Aboimov

LD1201142390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1332 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov today received Vasile Sandru, Romania's ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his forthcoming presentation credentials.

West Europe

Commentary Views FRG 'Interference' in GDR

LD1101163290 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 11 Jan 90

[By TASS Political Analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The greater is the scope and speed of transformations in the German Democratic Republic, the increasingly open are becoming the attempts by some West German circles to interfere in the internal affairs of this sovereign state.

Noteworthy is the fact that these actions, which are impermissible in the practice of inter-state relations, have been stepped up since the restructuring process in the GDR began to yield the first tangible results and have a salutary impact on the prestige of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism and the growth of its authority in the country. Even the Western press admits today that the party has good chances for success at free and democratic elections due to be held in May.

The pronouncements by Alfred Dregger, chairman of the group of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Socialist Union (CSU) in the West German Bundestag, cannot be described other than interference. He began to demand the holding of elections in the GDR...under U.N. auspices.

Why should a sovereign state conduct elections under control? Why does not Dregger demand elections of this kind at home, in West Germany, but persistently "advises" the government of another sovereign state to adopt his scheme?

Some West German politicians and mass media raised clamour around ultimatum demands for the dissolution of the National Security Agency, which are put forward by opposition in the GDR. The initiators of this "campaign of solidarity" forget one important circumstance that not a single state in the world, including West Germany, exists without services whose tasks are to ensure national security. Therefore, talk in West Germany, where there are three such secret services, about totally cancelling the National Security Agency in the GDR is nothing short of hypocricy.

Some statements by present West German federal chancellor can also be described as interference in the GDR's affairs. In his Wednesday's statement he accused the

GDR Government of allegedly doing little to restore people's confidence and demanded a fairer attitude to the opposition, the BBC reports. Is this lecturing of the government of another state opportune?

Drug Trafficking Agreement Signed With Austria

LD1101231890 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet and Austrian ministries of the interior have signed an agreement for joint action against drug trafficking and organized crime. This is the first such agreement to be signed between the Soviet Union and a Western country.

Belgian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

LD0901175390 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—A delegation from the commissions for foreign affairs of the Belgian Parliament's Senate and House of Representatives arrived in Moscow today, at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs.

Begin Talks

LD1001184190 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Soviet and Belgian parliamentarians today discussed a "Common European Home" concept that would enable people to live in peace and maintain good neighbourly relations and cooperation.

Representatives of the Soviet Supreme Soviet's committees on international affairs and defence and state security and a delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the Belgian parliament's two chambers agreed today that all European states must gradually progress along the path of disarmament and search for mutually acceptable decisions in politics, the economy and the humanitrian sphere.

They also noted that an all-European conference, Helsinki-2, could become a major landmark on this path. The conference was proposed by the Soviet Union.

The guests showed much interest in Soviet perestroyka. Soviet people's deputies informed them on the internal political situation in the Soviet Union and told the delegation about the efforts of the party and the government to overcome the current difficulties.

The parliamentarians also discussed political changes in Eastern Europe.

Decommissioned Submarine Sinks Off Denmark

PM1101095090 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Dec 89 p 4

[Nils Eric Boesgaard report: "Russian Submarine Sinks Off Bornholm"]

[Text] The decommissioned Soviet Whisky-class submarine, which yesterday ran into difficulties southwest of Hammerknuden on Bornholm, sank during the night, the duty officer at the Navy Operational Command announced.

A sister ship was expected to reach Nakskov late Friday [15 December].

Thursday, while on tow by the Polish tug *Ares*, the submarine began to take on water and was finally lying with 10 meters of its prow sticking up vertically above the surface.

At 2245 hours on Thursday evening the submarine threw in the towel and sank, the naval cutter *Romso* reported.

There was still no announcement yesterday about how deep the sunken submarine is lying, but the patrol boat *Dryad* sailed from Ronne yesterday morning to try to establish through the use of echo sounding and sonar to what extent the wreck is a danger to shipping.

"It cannot be ruled out that an air pocket could mean that it is projecting from the seabed and represents a danger to shipping," the duty officer said, adding:

"The submarine is insured, but it is unlikely that an attempt will be made to salvage it.

"Once its position has been established the information will be passed on to the shipping authorities so that they can mark the wreck on charts and warn shipping."

New Irish Ambassador McCabe Arrives in Moscow

PM1101164790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Ambassador Arrives"]

[Text] On 5 January, Irish ambassador to the Soviet Union P. McCabe arrived in Moscow.

Dutch Claims of KGB Spying Said Linked to Funding

PM1101093590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[N. Sinyavin "Rejoinder": "Financial Secret"]

[Text] Monday, 0845. A USSR Trade Mission staffer comes out of his apartment in Malacca Street in the Hague, starts his car, and takes his son to school at the Soviet Embassy in Andries Bickerweg. A team of Dutch Internal Security Service [BVD] agents follows him by car roughly half a kilometer behind. The Soviet staffer's every step is noted. An ordinary episode for the past 4 years....

That extract from an article by Dutch journalists Ham van den Berg and Robert van de Roer gives some idea of the atmosphere created by the Dutch special services around Soviet missions in the Netherlands. It can be added that Soviet specialists and members of their families are often shadowed by over 20 agents with about 10 cars equipped with special radios, buses, and video recording equipment.

As though shooting a "thriller," the Dutch journalists offering readers a curious claim. It concerns Soviet intelligence's "information aspirations," which are allegedly known to the BVD. The Russians, the journalists write, want to know the reaction in the West to M.S. Gorbachev's reforms. They are gathering information on disarmament problems, as they want to be sure that the West's promises at the negotiating table are carried out.

There is another "tall story" in the "report" "On KGB Activity in Rotterdam" which Home Affairs Minister van Dijk delivered at a session of the parliamentary commission to monitor the special services. The publication of bogus claims that the KGB has an intelligence "base" in the branch of the "Transworld Marine Agency" company in Rotterdam was timed to coincide with this "event." The implicit disinformation in this myth is transparent, so to speak. "Transworld Marine Agency" is a Soviet-Dutch brokerage company, one of the largest in Western Europe, handling over 1,200 Soviet ships annually, and has a branch in Rotterdam, but there have never been any "Soviet directors" there. Working contacts with the company are maintained by USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet representatives at the trade mission in Amsterdam.

Strange "hospitality," to say the least. It is scarcely an accident that the upsurges in the spy mania campaign preceded the debate in the Dutch Parliament on the question of financing the BVD. The parliamentary commission to monitor the special services intends to reduce BVD personnel by 12 percent! Furthermore, the newspaper ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD writes, the BVD leadership is afraid that the Socialist Party, influenced by the changes taking place in the USSR, will demand that this special service's budget be cut even further. Clearly this is the "Dutch financial secret" that the BVD leaders want to hide.

It is noteworthy that staffers of Dutch missions in Moscow are hardly complaining about harsh treatment. The Netherlands consul receives visitors in an "unofficial" atmosphere in his private apartment, and one Dutch journalist accredited in our capital has "made friends" with the notorious former KGB staffer Karpovich who is not unknown here, and in conversation is pumping him for information about this department's activity.

CPSU Delegation in Spain, Meets PSOE Leaders

LD0901210790 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Madrid January 9 TASS—A delegation of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) led by Grigoriy Revenko, Central Committee member and head of the Kiev regional Communist Party organisation, met with leaders of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) here.

The Spanish Socialists set forth their stand on a number of issues concerning the situation in Spain and in the world and showed great interest in perestroyka and political and economic reform in the Soviet Union.

They pointed out that the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party supports perestroyka in the Soviet Union and comes out for the stability of the situation in Europe, the strict observance of the Helsinki accords and the inviolability of the existing borders on the European continent.

The CPSU delegation informed the PSOE leadership on the forthcoming elections to the parliaments and local councils of Soviet constituent republics, the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress, efforts to solve the nationalities issue in the Soviet Union and specific economic recovery programmes of the CPSU.

The sides also discussed changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in the German Democratic Republic.

During the discussion of ties between the two parties, they emphasised the mutual interest in their further development and strengthening and in the expansion of theoretical studies on the present and future of socialism, the role of socialist parties and the Socialist International and the significance of socialist ideas in the development of world civilisation.

The sides also discussed specific issues of their joint work on such topical problems as disarmament, environment, ethnic issues and global economic problems.

They showed interest in mutual exchanges of experience in various spheres of their activities.

It was proposed to work out a plan for the further cooperation between the CPSU and the PSOE in the next year or two. In this connection, the CPSU invited a PSOE delegation to the Soviet Union.

Talks With Deputy Prime Minister

LD1001063990 Moscow TASS in English 0627 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Madrid January 10 TASS—Alfonso Guerra, Spanish deputy prime minister and deputy general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), received G.I. Revenko, a Central Committee member of the Soviet Communist Party and first secretary of the

Kiev regional committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, who heads the CPSU delegation visiting here.

During a friendly talk Guerra said that people in Spain follow with great sympathy the perestroyka policy and the socio-political transformations in the Soviet Union. "Gorbachev plays an unordinary role in the process of renewing Soviet society," he noted. "We are convinced that there is no alternative to the policy of perestroyka", Guerra said. On behalf of the leadership of the country and the party Guerra conveyed wishes of success to the CPSU and the Soviet people in implementing perestroyka.

The CPSU and the PSOE favoured a further strengthening and development of inter-party ties. They noted that expanding practical and theoretical contacts will help renew the ideas of socialism in Europe and all over the world.

On the instruction of Mikhail Gorbachev the head of the CPSU delegation handed over the Soviet leader's article for publication in the first issue of the Spanish theoretical journal "Socialism of the Future".

On Soviet-Spanish relations, both sides positively evaluated the present level of the political dialogue between the two countries and exchanged views on the quest for new forms of economic cooperation and raising to a qualitatively higher level in the interests of the Soviet and Spanish peoples.

Expressing satisfaction with contacts, both sides voiced for continuing a candid dialogue and exchanging views between representatives of the two countries and parties. S.K. Romanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to Spain, took part in the talk.

Soviet-UK Consultations on Humanitarian Issues

PM1101151190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Soviet-British consultations on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights were held 9 January at the USSR Foreign Ministry between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin and D. Retford [name as transliterated], British assistant permanent under secretary of foreign and commonwealth affairs.

In the course of the consultations, at the request of the British side, A.L. Adamishin informed D. Retford of the great work under way in the Soviet Union to build a rule-of-law state.

British TV Channel Plans USSR Coverage

PM1001154590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov dispatch: "For British Television Viewers"]

[Text] London—The "Soviet Spring" means 50 hours of net air time and £5 million for us to acquire an unprecedentedly rich television program. This has never happened before.

These were the words used by John Willis, one of the leaders of British television's commercial Channel 4, to describe the forthcoming original television festival offering broad coverage of the USSR's present. It will begin 13 January and will last 1 month. The local public will be able to watch at least two, mostly three, and at times even four programs a day on Channel 4.

"We intend to show not only films made in the Soviet Union but also programs made by British masters and joint British-Soviet works. In terms of subject matter, they will cover art, science, religion, and sociopolitical life," J. Willis emphasized when outlining the contents of the "Soviet Spring" program.

"One of our program's components," he went on, "will be broadcasts taken from the most recent issues of popular programs by the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, including the 'Vremya' news program."

There have been successful attempts at such comprehensive coverage of Soviet cinematography and television works in the past.

"For quite a few years now 'Soveksportfilm' has been successfully cooperating with Channel 4," I was told by Ye. Beginin, who heads its London mission. "Thanks to these ties, British television viewers were able to see about 20 Soviet movies—feature films, documentaries, popular science films, and cartoons—in 1989 alone. The accumulated experience of creative effect laid the foundations for the upcoming television festival."

Latin America & Caribbean

Chile Likely To Restore USSR Ties in 1990

PM1101112990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA-TASS report under the general heading: "News in Brief"]

[Text] The Chilean Government has restored diplomatic relations with practically all the European socialist countries, except the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. At the end of the year Chilean consulates general resumed work in Berlin, Budapest, and Warsaw. A consul general has now been appointed in Prague. It is expected that this year the new Chilean Government, headed by President Aylwin, will widen its diplomatic links, raised to embassy level, to include Moscow and Sofia. At a news conference for foreign journalists in Santiago the president said that the full restoration of diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations with the USSR will be one of his government's first foreign policy steps.

Cuban Envoy Hosts Liberation Day Reception

PM1101150790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Cuban Ambassador to the USSR J. Camacho Aguilera held a reception 9 January to mark the national holiday—Liberation Day.

The reception was attended by V.L. Lapygin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee; N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Commission; R.L. Fedorov, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and other officials.

Cuban 'Isolation' Rejected As 'Mythical'

90OI0256A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by P. Bogomolov, Vice-President of the 'USSR—Latin America' Association of Friendship and Cultural Relations: "The Republic's Prestige (for Cuba's National Holiday- Liberation Day)"]

[Text] **The Malecon embankment in Havana looks as if it were part of the ocean which licks its parapet walls. Waves also rise and break on this wide strip of asphalt girding half of the city of 2 million on the Atlantic. Only these are waves of a human tide. Yesterday it was a real tide of indignation that flooded Cuba in response to the U.S. aggression in Panama. The new waves at Malecon today are those of joy and optimism—permanent companions in the celebration of their victory day. This day, the anniversary of the Cuban revolution, is being celebrated for the 31st time.**

Without exaggeration, the more than 30-year existence of the new Cuba is in itself a grandiose victory of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. The range of this success certainly far exceeds any difficulties that are, by the way, openly discussed by Cubans: rationing of some types of food, shortages of consumer goods and living space, and many other problems. Here is an interesting point: The anti-Cuban propaganda from the opposite shore of the Straits of Florida seems to have realized how fruitless its attempts were to exploit all these stereotyped "trump cards." Therefore, in anticipation of the present anniversary it tried to find some "new reasoning" which would help to seriously weaken the appeal of Cuba's example, to smear not only the "social background" of the country but also the general stability of its position, including its international position.

I had to go to my desk because of a telephone call from a foreign colleague. He was calling from the press center at Zubovsky Boulevard:

"Well, old man, Cuba has been definitely walking out of step with you lately. They are criticizing perestroyka and that seems to be a only a step away from self-isolation."

"Self-isolation from whom?"

"As if you do not understand: From the entire outside world, of course..."

Is it possible, one asks, to combine such rash judgements with objective analysis? Is not the Western "great press" overly biased when it tries to single out just one thing from the diverse, eventful, Cuban reality? That one thing being Havana's restrained and critical approach toward the social processes in the USSR and other socialist countries.

A biased point of view, however, is not the worst. What is worse is biased conclusions which sometimes seem quite categorical. Here is the verdict of THE NEW YORK TIMES, phrased, by the way, quite laconically: "Growing Isolation of Castro."

I am not going to argue now about the essence of the criticism expressed lately by our Cuban comrades and directed at the leadership of our fraternal parties. It is not for journalists but rather for social scientists to do a fundamental analysis of how a particular new society may be built under various conditions. But today I would like to talk in more detail about the so-called "international isolation" of Havana.

I could start with Soviet-Cuban relations which by the end of the 1980's have reached their highest point in the 30 year history of the new Cuba. Over 8 billion in trade agreements, and enormous economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries were not the only causes for that. Of no less importance was the fact that last year was the year of a qualitative breakthrough in our interactions. The breakthrough was M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Cuba and the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation that he signed there. With all that how can one rely either on the fleeting character of events or on public forgetfulness to insist that 1989 will be known in history as the year the traditional ties of Soviet-Cuban friendship seemingly fell apart?

True, sometimes we do hear from Havana the sincere words of our Cuban friends who are worried about the fate of socialism. We feel their desire to see the renewal in our country happen entirely along the lines of the historical choice made in October 1917. But on one hand, we ourselves admit more and more often the existing threat to perestroyka from both the left and right. On the other hand Cuba, with its specific position, definitely proves how naturally diverse are the interests of socialist countries which exist on different and not always comparable levels of social development.

Let us mention, for instance, Cuba's sincere concern about the concept of transfering the trade and economic cooperation of fraternal countries to a commercial basis. That will pose a threat to the preferential or favorable conditions of Cuba's interacton with its basic partners. Is it so difficult to understand such concerns and, sometimes, worries of our Cuban friends?

The history of Soviet-Cuban relations has already witnessed times when both sides were revealed differences in the tactical approaches of both parties towards a number of crucial problems of social development. What happpened? Havana did not change and neither did Moscow, but the multi-faceted cooperation of the two countries continued forward as a result.

Our reality also disproves the conjectures that have been spreading lately about a certain weakening of Cuba's prestige in the non-socialist part of the world, especially among the non- aligned movements. Those falsehoods are vicious in their very basis which, in short, claims that Havana seemingly does not like the strategy now being established in the "hot spots" of the planet, a flexible strategy that aims to bring a compromise, peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. Such logic seems doubtful!

In this respect it might be sufficient to remind that in the past year Cuba halved its 50,000 military presence in Angola and continues to decrease it. Here the republic is acting in full compliance with the New York agreement. Havanna moved along the road to the agreement in the closest interaction with Soviet diplomacy. And the choice of Cuba as a member of the UN Security Council, with considerable support of the world community, does not seem accidental to me as Cuba had demonstrated its devotion to a peaceful settlement in South-Western Africa.

And now, finally, the last position for which Cuba is also being "stoned" by the "great press" of the United States. According to them, Cuba's solidarity with the national liberation forces of Central America nearly resulted in another period of isolation of the island by the bourgeois governments of the leading Latin American countries. However, those who spread such conjectures should not rely on their readers being poorly informed. In 1989 the largest of the Latin American governments issued a combined appeal for Cuba to be returned to the biggest continental forum—the Organization of American States (OAS).

All the abovementioned facts are just a few touches on the "business card" of the foreign policy of today's Cuba. But even these few facts make it very obvious how far the claims of Cuba's decaying international positions, of its fictitious "isolation" in the world community are from the truth. The Cubans are filled with legitimate pride for everything they have achieved; they also fully understand how far their present is from the final goal of the revolution. And with this pride and understanding they are entering the fourth decade of their present history: History that has been difficult and contradictory but worthy of the fundamental choice made by this fraternal country.

Analyst Views Nicaraguan Electoral Campaign

PY1101112090 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0330 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The Sandinist Front is comfortably leading the Nicaraguan electoral campaign, which will end on 25 February. Proof of this is a poll performed by the Nicaraguan (?ECO) research center last December. We have a commentary by analyst Marina Petrovskaya.

The Sandinists are enjoying a considerable lead. Almost 50 percent of the people polled answered that they will vote for Daniel Ortega while only 14 percent support opposition leader Violeta de Chamorro. In addition, the number of Ortega supporters increases day by day.

Eighty-eight percent said they want to participate in the elections. It is also important to note that when asked whether the government has improved the situation in the country, more than 50 percent of those polled said yes.

Doesn't this show that despite the problems of the country, the destruction of its economy, the war against the followers of Somoza, and the victims who [words indistinct] loyal to the revolution believe that only the Sandinists can complete the national democratic process and can guarantee a decent future for the nation.

All of us know that this process would have been much easier if, during these 10 years of Sandinist revolution, the country had not been the target of Yankee mercenary aggression.

Everyone has already realized that the Sandinist Government has consistently democratized society, and that it has fulfilled its obligations with the other Central American countries in the quest for a political solution to the regional conflict. Despite all this, however, there is an ongoing conspiracy against the Nicaraguan Government, while the danger of Yankee intervention has not disappeared.

In fact, we should recall the Yankee troops' provocative assault on the residence of the Sandinist Ambassador. The Organization of American States and the international community have conveyed their deep concern over the U.S. anti-Sandinist provocations.

Neither can we ignore the tens of millions of dollars which Washington has delivered to the opposition to help it gain power and thus return the nation to the Yankee circle.

Under such circumstances, can the Sandinists be charged with [words indistinct] with respect to the United States, because they did not allow observers to enter the country to observe the elections?

Dear listeners, don't you think that there is a clear inconsistency in that the United States is financing the electoral campaign of one of the opposition candidates, and at the same time it intends to send neutral observers?

Even with the U.S. foreign policy inconsistencies, all the electoral campaign observers are sure that the Sandinists will win the elections by a comfortable margin.

The opposition may obviously win congressional seats. The main point, as Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez recently said to the newspaper LA CRONICA, is to reach an accord between all social sectors with the objective of solving all Nicaraguan political and economic problems for the sake of all social classes.

Passions High Over H. Ortega Talk of 'Traitors'

PM1201101190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Teplyuk: "Behind the Scenes of the War"]

[Text] Managua—The events in Panama are involving Nicaragua. Daniel Ortega, the country's president, has said that "we were on the brink of war with the United States." After the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama was searched by U.S. Marines, the army and reservists were placed in a state of combat readiness. Managua considers that by this action Washington wanted to provoke a retaliatory measure by the Sandinist government—the searching of the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua—in order to use this as grounds for aggression against Nicaragua. The Sandinist government did not take such an extreme measure, confining itself to expelling 20 U.S. diplomats and cutting U.S. Embassy service personnel by two-thirds. Until 20 January the regular flight bringing in foodstuffs for the U.S. colony will not be allowed to land at Sandino Airport.

Passions over the statement by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, the president's brother, continue to run high in the republic. In the event of a U.S. invasion, he called on patriots to identify and destroy the occupiers' accomplices and "traitors to the motherland." The language of Humberto Ortega's statement caused great concern to the republic's supreme electoral council. Opposition leaders, for their part, regarded it as a direct call for physical reprisals against opponents of the Sandinist regime.

The opposition accuses the Sandinistas of "deliberately fueling war hysteria" in order to hamper free elections.

May the United States launch aggression against Nicaragua? Now that the time has come to analyze the Panama events, this topic is being actively discussed, albeit theoretically, in the American press and on television.

At an election rally held in the town of Diriamba Daniel Ortega stated that in any event an invasion of Nicaragua would not be easy.

According to Ortega, he foresaw the possibility of an invasion of Panama and telephoned the Nicaraguan ambassador several hours before the start of the American aggression to find out what state the Panamanian defense forces were in. The diplomat reported that "everything is calm." Regarding Manuel Noriega the president said that he "had never been a revolutionary" but was merely a military man with nationalist ideas.

Muscovites Protest U.S. Invasion of Panama

LD1101193190 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A meeting of the Moscow public demanded today that the U.S. troops be completely withdrawn from Panama.

The meeting was organised by the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Latin American peoples, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Komsomol, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Women's Committee and other organisations.

Chairman of the Latin American Solidarity Committee and expert in Latin America Karen Khachaturov rejected the White House's attempts to justify the anti-Panama action.

The death of an American under unclear conditions on the eve of the invasion and the reference to the need to combat narco-mafia cannot serve as a legal basis for an attack against a sovereign state. "No one gave the United States the right to punish or pardon a country at its discretion," Khachaturov said.

Meeting participants adopted a resolution to denounce the U.S. unprecedented aggression against the U.N. member-state.

"We share the call of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in his New Year address to refuse [as received] from any subversive activities, pressure, interference and armed intrusions that do no credit to either arms or politics," the resolution said.

Panama Invasion Seen as Cold War 'Relapse'

PM1201095590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Borisov article: "Farewell 'Cold War'?"]

[Text] The "minisummit," as it was dubbed by the army of more than 2,000 reporters who descended on Malta, has become part of history. But it bequeathed us some difficult questions. All but the main one of these is: Did the meeting that was held draw a line under the "cold war" and open the door to a new, peaceful period?

Naturally, the desire to see the last of the "cold war," which is a synonym for a protracted period of unhealthy international relations, is understandable. The policy on which it was based poisoned interstate relations for decades, urged on the arms race, and gave rise to suspicion and mistrust among people. In the conditions of nuclear confrontation, the "cold war" ultimately pushed international relations into an impasse from which we are only now beginning to discern a way out.

It cannot be ignored that a real, long-term, historical prospect of a linkup of two social organisms—socialism and capitalism—is taking shape. Not the convergence of the two systems, that is utopia, but rather their reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment in the political and economic spheres, the acquisition of a more balanced view of each other, and a growing sense of belonging to one civilization.

I recall that shortly before his death, preparing a speech on relations with the Soviet Union, President Kennedy deleted from a draft prepared by the State Department a reference to the USSR as the "enemy" and replaced it with the emotionally less charged "opponent." And a quarter of a century later, President Bush speaking at a joint news conference with M.S. Gorbachev in the salon of the MS *Maksim Gorkiy* in the roads off Malta, used the words "our Soviet friends," as if wanting to definitively distance himself from the recent times when the only way in which the Soviet Union was referred to in Washington was as the "evil empire."

These words are not just a tribute to diplomatic niceties on the part of statesmen. They reflect the changing realities of our time, the growing understanding of the integrity and interdependence of the present-day world, the vital need to resolve emerging problems through joint efforts, and above all to find ways to overcome the division of mankind into hostile camps.

Malta featured as yet another meeting in the long list of Soviet-U.S. summits held in the 1980's, but at the same time it added great originality and left its own inimitable mark. The point is not so much the originality of the idea of holding talks aboard warships, which was considered appropriate only for allies in the past, nor even the atmosphere of trust which reigned during the talks. Malta set an example of the fruitfulness of taking a broad view of the world as against the old outlook based on ideological and confrontational prejudice.

Today as never before, mankind needs an effective mechanism for settling fundamental interstate contradictions; not, however, at the expense of the peoples' interests, and certainly not by way of establishing new "spheres of influence" or recarving the world. The Soviet Union is firmly committed to the proclaimed principle of freedom of choice, and it rejects any doctrine which infringes or limits anyone's national sovereignty. This is graphically confirmed by its positive reaction to the process of renewal which is under way in the East European countries.

Malta not only paved the way to the holding of a Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington in the summer of 1990, but also ensured the inclusion on the agenda of the Soviet proposal to convene the Helsinki-2 all-European conference this year, rather than in 1992 as originally planned. We believe that the accelerated pace of life in Europe and the speed of changes in West and East have brought about the need for this. During the meeting in Malta, a series of measures were outlined aimed at establishing closer ties between the Soviet Union and the world economy—through the mechanism of a number of international economic organizations and the revitalization of trade and economic ties with the United States, by eliminating existing discriminatory barriers and creating a most-favored nation status in trade. Promising new approaches are taking shape in the disarmament sphere which are intended to accelerate the conclusion of the treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, the achievement of an accord on conventional arms in Vienna, and the solution of the chemical weapons question. The conversion of military production which has been initiated by the Soviet Union, and which promises billion-ruble savings in the national economy in the longer term, has called into question a number of U.S. military programs and deprived the advocates of the arms race of their stock arguments.

"Full agreement has not been achieved," President G. Bush said, commenting on the outcome of the meeting, as if suddenly remembering and trying to dampen journalists' excessive expectations. It would be surprising were it otherwise. Full agreement does not usually exist even between allies, let alone states which until the very recent past were referring to each other only as "potential opponent." On both sides fears and misgivings—in the evasive parlance of diplomats—persist. The U.S. side, for instance, maintains a rigid and intransigent position in respect of the discussion of questions pertaining to naval arms, and specifically sea-launched cruise missiles, on which the Soviet side insisted during the talks.

Regarding the delicate matter of disarmament talks, the political leaders agreed that it would be wrong to try to do the work of the actual talks participants, who unravel complex military and technical problems and patiently create a mutually acceptable basis for accords. It was more a question of establishing sufficiently tight deadlines for the completion of the negotiators' work and the implementation of the tasks entrusted to them by the time of the "full-scale" summit in Washington. It seems that the practice whereby diplomatic talks could drag on for years, creating the illusion of disarmament among the public, after Malta is gradually becoming a thing of the past.

Nonetheless, did the meeting off Malta draw a line under the "cold war?" One would very much like to answer this question in the affirmative. Unfortunately, there are factors which counsel caution. There is the inadequacy of the West's response to the Soviet Union's striving for world peace. And also the continuing attempts of extreme right-wing forces to discredit the foreign policy course of our country and its allies and to foist another round of the arms race on us.

Or take the U.S. armed invasion of a small country like Panama. Is that not a relapse into the policy of "cold war," is that not an attempt to pursue mercenary interests by using force? The reprisal against that small country reflects like a mirror the imperial thinking of certain U.S. circles. With its show of crude military force, the United States was giving an object lesson intended above all for the other Latin American countries which do not want to live according to laws written in Washington. Unfortunately, the peoples of the world still have no guarantees against such actions.

The "cold war" did not begin with a single shot and it will not end with the symbolic gun salute in Malta's Marsaxlokk Bay. The new policy is being made by people who are aware of this historical constraint.

Uruguay-Panama Solidarity Committee Set Up

LD1101103190 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Montevideo January 11 TASS—The Uruguayan Committee of Solidarity with Panama has been set up in Montevideo. It unites representatives of all Uruguayan political parties and groups, non-governmental and religious organisations and progressive intelligentsia. The decision to set up the solidarity committee was passed as a result of U.S. aggression against Panama and its ongoning military presence in that country.

Paraguayan Communists' Plenum Reported

PM1101142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Important Decisions Taken"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 9 Jan—The Paraguayan people's democratic gains are the result of the broad masses' increased political awareness and their long and selfless struggle against Stroessner's fascist dictatorship. This is stated in the political resolution of the Paraguayan Communist Party [PCP] Central Committee plenum held in Asuncion. Those taking part in the plenum discussed the situation in the country and the tasks facing the communist party and other progressive forces. The return to the political arena of the Paraguayan communists, who for over four decades had been obliged to operate deep underground, is assessed as a major victory for the democratic public. The plenum documents contain an appeal to the Paraguayans to launch a struggle for the complete restoration of democratic freedoms in the country and the legalization of all political parties and against the tyranny of the big businessmen.

Those taking part in the plenum welcomed the process of revolutionary changes in the USSR. It was decided to publish an anthology of documents and articles which will familiarize the Paraguayans with perestroyka and its importance for the destiny of the whole world.

Julio Rojas was unanimously elected chairman of the PCP and Ananias Maidana was elected general secretary.

The plenum created a commission for preparing the next PCP congress.

Political & Social

Vilnius Radio Broadcasts Live from Demonstration

1100 GMT

LD1101132890

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1100 GMT on 11 January begins broadcasting a live relay from the Cathedral Square in Vilnius where the gathering of the people of Lithuania "For a Free and Independent Lithuania" is scheduled to begin at 1400 GMT.

Jurate Valanciute and Guoda Salciute, news reporters of Lithuanian radio, begin interviewing people who have started arriving in the square from various parts of Lithuania.

The reporters then provide information about traffic moving into the city and live advice on how to avoid the streets which will be closed to ensure Gorbachev's free movement in the city. The radio informs people about events organized in other cities and towns of Lithuania, stating: "People from Klaipeda are invited to gather in Liepu street. They must bring candles which will be lit during the action for free Lithuania. A church service will take place at the Church of Holy Mary Queen of Peace," a church in Klaipeda.

The residents of Panevezys are invited to gather outside the city cathedral. From 1900 until 1901 GMT a minute's silence and concentration will be observed with participants holding lit candles. Following this, the bells of the Cathedral will toll. At 1930 GMT a Holy Mass for Free Lithuania will be celebrated, the radio states.

At 1132 GMT an announcer states that now the microphone of Lithuanian radio is in Kaunas Vienybe Square, where a similar rally will also be held at the same time as the one in Vilnius.

At 1138 GMT a studio announcer gives more information to those still on the road to the capital. This is followed by music.

At 1213 GMT the radio carries a short report from Siauliai, the third largest city of the republic, by radio correspondent Alma Rosiniene, who says that crowds of people are gathering in the city square chanting "We are free, lets' make Lithuania free".

Following this, several telegrams sent to the radio are read over the air. One of these is from the Russian Old-Believers saying that they were praying, asking God to help Lithuanians to become free.

At 1213 GMT the radio reverts to music.

At 1230 GMT a regular program answering listeners' questions begins.

1238 GMT

LD1101144190

[Editorial Report] At 1238 GMT on 11 January Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian resumes its live relay from Cathedral Square in Vilnius, announcing that Lithuanian minorities—Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and others also intend to support the aims of the independence rally. The inhabitants of Palanga are preparing to meet, the radio says.

At 1245 GMT, the radio announcer says Cathedral Square is full of people, noting that Ukrainian, Latvian, and Estonian flags are on display. An announcer reads messages addressed to the rally from Liepaja in Latvia and from other towns.

At 1255 GMT the presenter says that, so far, Gorbachev's movements are not known.

At 1258 GMT the radio says Gorbachev is still visiting the fuel injection equipment plant.

At 1259 GMT the news is read in Russian. A. Cekuolis, editor-in-chief of the newspaper GIMTASIS KRASTAS (The Native Land), then invites people of all convictions and nationalities to come to Cathedral Square. He says that all flags, including old pre- revolutionary Russian flags, are welcome. No slogans or banners will be removed, he says.

At 1306 GMT a Polish radio observer says the processes currently taking place in Lithuania are part of the same processes which are developing in Eastern Europe.

At 1315 GMT a Lithuanian from Latvia sends wishes and greetings to his compatriots.

At 1320 GMT the radio broadcasts telephone calls by Russians living in Lithuania who say that they regard Lithuania as their home and that they want Lithuania to be free. Callers refuse to give their names.

At 1331 GMT correspondent Skirtuntas Pabedinskas reports from Riga: the mood prevailing in Lithuania is also felt in the neighboring republic of Latvia, Pabedinskas says. A large number of cars and vans adorned with national flags can be seen on the roads. People are going to Vilnius to express their solidarity. At present people are assembling at the Monument of Freedom. There are not only Latvians, but many Russian speakers, and also a large group of Lithuanians. There are slogans: "Freedom and independence to Lithuania," "We are with you, dear Lithuanians." The demonstration in Riga will start at the same time as in Vilnius, the correspondent notes.

At 1342 GMT it is announced that Cathedral Square is full. People are asked to stand in the adjoining streets of the old city.

At 1402 GMT the rally starts. K.Motieka, USSR people's deputy, opens the proceedings. He says that Lithuanians came here to declare that Lithuania will not live without independence. He proposes that the main topic of discussion at this demonstration should be the independence of Lithuania. Shouts of approval are heard.

At 1404 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, takes the floor. He says that most advisers, both in the West and East, advise Lithuanians not to hurry. Landsbergis says that these advisers should voluntarily join the Soviet Union to get an idea of what it really means. Chanting is heard "Freedom, Freedom". He says that today the time for the turning point has come. Landsbergis says that Lithuanians would have liked Gorbachev to join this meeting, because Gorbachev should be respected for carrying the burden of restructuring of the most oppressive state.

1404 GMT

LD1101165890

[Editorial Report] At 1404 GMT on 11 January Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its live relay from the Cathedral Square in Vilnius, where Vytautas Landsbergis continues his speech. After referring to the history of Soviet aggression toward the Baltic states, Landsbergis states: "Last autumn we submitted in Moscow 1,800,000 signatures to the effect that we do not recognize laws and constitutions and also planned laws of constitutional supervision which are above our laws. They have pretended that they did not hear it." He adds that 1,500,000 signatures were collected in support of the view that the consequences of the criminal Molotov-Ribbentrop pact for Lithuania must be abolished. They pretend they have not heard it, he says. He continues: "We have handed in a deputies' memorandum that the time has come to start negotiations on the restoration of Lithuania's independence and 6 months later there is still no reply. Therefore now we state and witness here in the eyes of the world: We have said everything there is to say and Moscow will not be able to pretend that it is a youth who does not understand anything. There must be a reply. A reply will come, and not only us, but also world public opinion is waiting for it. And it must be political, in other words, a reply of wisdom, dictated by the whole process of international events. Mikhail Gorbachev is a man of wisdom, and although people of the fist are not lacking around him, we believe in his goodwill, in the possibility of peaceful political solutions."

Landsbergis goes on to say: "We thought yesterday and today, and now we think, that Mikhail Gorbachev could come here, too. We will welcome him in a friendly manner and with respect. He is the head of a powerful though dangerous Eastern state, a symbol of its new policy. We wish to have friendly and economically expedient relations with that state which would be based on mutual respect and mutual benefit." He adds: "If Mikhail Gorbachev will not come here, we will know that he is very busy somewhere else. And what we say has already been said and heard."

At 1414 GMT Ceslovas Stankevicius, from Sajudis Kaunas group, speaks about the fight for independence. He appeals to Russia to demonstrate its honesty and return Lithuanians their freedom which was taken away in 1940.

At 1418 GMT Antanas Terleckas, chairman of the Lithuanian Liberty League, says that Lithuanians have the right to self-determination. Speaking in Russian, so that Gorbachev, if he listens, can understand better, Terleckas said that he would like to see the day when Lithuanians will be able to genuinely call the Russians their brothers. This will be possible only after Gorbachev withdraws his troops from Lithuania. Shouts of approval are heard.

At 1424 GMT Emanuel Zinger, chairman of the Lithuanian Jewish Association, says: "Although we have our differences, even squabbles, but that does not mean that we need an arbitrator from outside." He finishes his speech with the words: "Long Live Free Lithuania, our common Motherland!"

At 1426 GMT Halina Kobeckaite, a Tatar, chairman of the Nationalities Commission, speaks in support of restructuring and independence of Lithuania.

At 1431 GMT Justas Paleckis, CC secretary for ideology, is the next to speak at the rally. On Mikhail Gorbachev he says: "If today we remember our guest, Mikhail Gorbachev, who is not far from here, we must remember that now he is being attacked from all sides. If I can have the opportunity to describe to him the mood of this rally, I would like to know your opinion on what Gorbachev is doing for democratization, openness, and justice—do we support him or not—yes or no. Yes, yes." Shouts of approval are heard from the crowd.

1433 GMT

LD1101165990

[Editorial Report] At 1433 GMT on 11 January Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its live relay from the rally in the Cathedral Square, Vilnius. Nikolay Medvedev, from the Kaunas Sajudis group, is the next to speak. Speaking in Russian for the benefit of Russian listeners, he says:

"Dear Moscow guests, compatriots and people of the same surname [laughter from the crowd—he is referring to Politburo Member Vadim Medvedev] I cannot ask my brothers to go from a federation into a confederation. I have no faith in the CPSU, and especially in its leadership. I should very much like to believe in Mikhail Sergeyevich, but I know who is standing behind him. I saw much in Moscow. I remember how Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov was booed. I remember how they did not want to admit that Bolshevism has produced genocide in its own country. As long as there are lies, there is no faith. Holy Russia is still drugged by the Marxist dread poison. The Slav brethren still sleep. For this reason, my dear ones, I cannot lie, and I cannot deceive my brothers with whom I grew up together. I know only this: Without freedom for Lithuania there is no freedom for Russia." Cheers of approval are heard.

AT 1436 GMT Kazimieras Anatanavicius, USSR people's deputy, speaks in support of freedom, inviting people to go hand in hand fighting for freedom.

At 1442 GMT Romas Radziukas, from the Latvian People's Front, says: "We welcome your courage, consistency and the striving for freedom. We admire your achievements in the struggle for Lithuania's independence. We understand that the freedom of Lithuania is also the freedom of Latvia." He adds: "Therefore today, when the empire attempts to stop this movement or to divert it in another direction, we once again express our support for your actions and aspirations, we express our determination to defend your and our freedom. Stand firm and know that the whole of Latvia and the Latvian People's Front are behind you." This is welcomed by applause and shouts: "Latvia, Latvia."

At 1442 GMT a weeping women asks to be allowed to speak. She says that communists killed her son in the Soviet Army and begs people to help her. She says she is from Latvia. The woman says that as long as communists enjoy absolute power there can be no democracy in this country. She asks the people to prevent their sons from being killed by the "murderers" in the Soviet Armed Forces. The crowd chants "shame, shame."

At 1448 GMT poet Justinas Marcinkevicius invites everybody to be united.

At 1453 GMT actor Laimons Noreika reads patriotic poems. People chant "freedom," "Lithuania."

At 1457 GMT Kazimieras Motieka takes the floor again. He says that at the moment there are no less than 300,000 people who arrived in Vilnius from all corners of Lithuania.

He finishes his speech saying: "A slave is not the one who is put in chains but the one who is kissing his chains in admiration. We will not kiss our chains."

AT 1450 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis takes the floor again. He appeals to all Lithuanians not to be carried away with false ideas, that all the difficulties have been overcome. He says that the most difficult times are ahead. He adds: "We will need a great deal of endurance in the future. Therefore, let us not miss the opportunity today to verify if we have this endurance within us. It would be unfair to compare it with what Lithuanian deportees, fighters, and prisoners or simply those who have been humiliated for decades have gone through: With those whose Motherland and dignity of a free man have had taken away from them. Let us not compare our insignificant test which we are going through now with all this. Let our minute of silence be a sign that if once again we are told to tell lies, we will be silent; if once again we are told to glorify some false goods or some bloody leaders—we shall be silent. This is how the graves of our volunteer soldiers, partisans, martyrs, and prisoners elequently speak to us. Let us light our candles and let us remain silent until the bells of the Cathedral start to ring. Let us all go silent, as silent as the soil of Lithuania; let us stand here in silence with one thought and one hope in our hearts. We are free people, we shall restore free Lithuania."

Following this, music is heard, the bells of the cathedral begin to ring. Church bells of all churches in Lithuania and Latvia are ringing at this time, The state anthem of Lithuania is sung. People remain in the square singing songs.

At 1515 GMT the relay from the Cathedral Square in Vilnius concludes.

Gorbachev Talks With Vilnius Crowds

'We Must Act Together'

LD1101132190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received a report about one of the meetings in Vilnius.

[Begin recording] [Sound of crowd shouting "Gorbachev, Gorbachev"]

[Gorbachev] Thank you for the greetings, and let's talk so as to understand one another.

[Man] How do you feel?

[Gorbachev] Not bad, not bad. There's no other way, (?one has to keep going).

[Woman] Good.

[Gorbachev] You know, time has its demands, and we, correspondingly, must act. Everything is fine. We must act together, in harmony, on the basis of this healthy human striving to change things for the better, so that each people feels the land belongs to it, not only as before, but in such a way as to ensure that things turn out better. We must seek together, seek together. As soon as anyone succeeds in dividing us, there will be trouble. [unintelligible shouts from the crowd, including a shout of "correct"]

[Male voice] And strengthing initiative.

[Gorbachev] Certainly, certainly.

[Second male voice] And encouraging initiative.

[Gorbachev] Absolutely, absolutely, and encouraging independence.

[Male Voice] Yes.

[Gorbachev] [words indistinct] at enterprises and in the city and in the republic. But, comrades, (?we must do it together). I know, I know....

[Man, interrupting] We support you.

[Gorbachev] I know that it has already formed in the Lithuanian character and in those who have linked their destiny with Lithuania —this is a hardworking people, very deeply restrained. This should not be lost. As for all the rest, we must get out of the situation, so that the republic feels all right and the people here as well. This must all (?be done). [voices in the crowd, the words "federation" and "union" are heard]

[Gorbachev]f It should be a different federation. We have not had a federation. We have not yet had a federation. We want things to get better and this must be done together.

[Man] Yes, only together. [cheering and clapping] [end recording]

'No Absolute Freedom'

AU1101130490 Paris AFP in English 1226 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Jan 11 (AFP)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev Thursday struck a conciliatory note with Lithuanians in a walkabout here after he arrived to discuss the local communist party's break with Moscow.

"We must consider our opinion and your opinion, and there can be no absolute freedom," the Soviet leader told crowds who gathered to watch him lay a wreath at Lenin square, which had been sealed off before his arrival, an AFP reporter said. "We must follow the path of discussion. I am the one who chose this path, and my own fate is linked to this choice," he said.

Mr Gorbachev and his wife Raisa were accompanied by Lithuanian party leader Algirdas Brazauskas and Mikolas Burokiavicius, the secretary of the Lithuanian party branch which decided to remain faithful to Moscow after a special congress last month.

Mr Gorbachev spent an hour at Lenin square talking to the people who broke through crowd barriers.

Lithuanian nationalists were to hold a mass demonstration to demand Lithuanian independence later in the day in central Vilnius.

TV Report

LD1101194490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Video report on Mikhail Gorbachev walkabout in Vilnius on 11 January; with video showing Gorbachev surrounded by a crowd in an unnamed city square—recorded]

[Text] [Studio] We have yet another report from Vilnius which we received literally a few moments ago.

[Begin video recording] [Unseen speaker] Well, freedom of action.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes, yes. It is a question that is already, let us say, of great concern to all of us. Defense, take defense. Defense, maritime communications, maritime ports. Tell me: This enormous community that is the Soviet Union—it should function. The circulation of vital supplies should function within this organism; it should have its arteries. [indistinct remarks from crowd]

Do not be hasty, do not be hasty. As for problems, problems...[indistinct voices in background] I will presently come to that, I will come to that. Defense: Do you know what enormous interests of the security of state are already vested here in the Baltic region?

[Male speaker] We could come to an agreement. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] I will not say. [as heard] I won't tell you about them now. Since I am chairman of the Defense Council, I know that there are enormous interests here, comrades. This is what all, all problems, all peoples need—this reliability. Look at the realities! There's some homework for you, Virgil! [speaking to young man in crowd] Excuse me if I addressed you in a familiar way in view of your age, although perhaps.... [Gorbachev pats him on the arm] How old are you?

[Young man] I'm old—27!

[Gorbachev] That's very old! Fine. It's just these realities, just these realities. What do they require! What do they require? They require intelligence, the ability to understand how to see to it that the accumulated problems connected with bureaucratism, centralism, and the absence of self—and yes, ecology, demography—are resolved. In all these things there are distortions, and big ones at that. I am now getting to the anxieties that really exist and worry all of you.

[Woman] Everyone.

[Gorbachev] Yes, they worry all of you. And they must not, they must not be left in such a state, because they are very major questions; they are all major ones. The destiny of the people—there is worry over what the future holds for it on this earth, where it has existed for centuries. That's one thing. How, what is the environment like, what is life like? All this is a cause of worry. Of course it seems that there are so many problems. How are they to be resolved? Then people seem to want put an end to everything, to break it all up themselves, themselves. Nothing will come of it! Dear comrades, it would be a historical dead end.

[Man] We don't think so.

[Gorbachev] I want to hear this from you. If you don't think so, then all the rest has to be discussed and ways of resolving the situation have to be sought concerning the federation, and economic independence, and political sovereignty. All that has now gone into play. Economic independence has gone into play. It is difficult—you won't solve it overnight. If you were given full independence now and transferred to world prices, you would immediately come unstuck. So you mustn't.

[Voices] No! No!

[Man] Of course, we won't come unstuck.

[Virgil] Links with the Soviet Union will never be severed. Why do you think we would sever these links? We won't sever these links. [laughter at the man)

[Gorbachev] If I spoke Lithuanian as well as you speak Russian, I wouldn't feel embarrassed about it. So you must know that in the state in which our federation and the whole union have found themselves, the problems that have accumulated must not, in this connection, be left as they are. In our multinational state, if we don't resolve the problems of nations, if we don't put ethnic issues on a different plane and bring them to another level, and if we don't regulate interrelations both in the republics and between republics, restructuring will not take place. So, on the one hand, restructuring is needed in order to resolve all these matters. It has brought them all to light. Could you at any time in the past have raised these matters like this? No. Never.

[Man] Excuse me, what do you think of....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] What is more, when someone did raise them, we know what happened to them. Now we discuss things in an open and forthright manner. On the one hand, restructuring has ushered in the opportunity, via democracy and glasnost, via a recognition of realities—and the reality is that we are a multinational state and we must take due account of the peoples. This is not America, where there is also a large number of peoples. But there, you know, not a single people has roots. But in our country, every people lives in its own land, its roots are here, and because of cohabitation with others they have been mixed together now for years and decades. These are also new realities. So restructuring has provided a spur to reflection and thought about how and what to resolve. But restructuring itself will perish if these questions are not tackled. That is the way things are interrelated.

[Man] Moscow doesn't want restructuring.

[Second man] We must move from life in a hostel to living in detached houses. There is this principle in restructuring, you know—there should be. Since we are all now in a hostel, as it were, in every room you can hear everyone else.

[Gorbachev] I, therefore, think that the answer lies not in the break-up of cultural, human, economic, political, and other links, but in a modernization in the direction of ensuring that all peoples feel themselves to be themselves. they can only feel themselves to be themselves when they resolve the political issues in their republic and their cultural and language problems, so to speak, and social ones, and have the power to do this.

[Man in crowd] That is what we think.

[Gorbachev] Therefore, we need a totally different federation, a totally different federation....

[Man in crowd] Yes.

[Gorbachev]...in which this political sovereignty and economic independence would be guaranteed in full. And this would then be a colossal impetus, for this is not some mechanical adding together, but cooperation, and preserving this cooperation—the huge resources that the Soviet Union has at its disposal, for nowhere else are there such possibilities, and the cultured and educated peoples—and then this cooperation, switched onto another plane, will produce a colossal explosive effect. But now, when we are busy with these questions during the first stage and when both misunderstandings and vaguenesses crop up, we must not lose faith in reaching agreement about anything and say let's run away from this union. Where is there to run to? Why run away? This has to be reflected upon. On the contrary, refashion the union, that is the path.

[Woman in crowd] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Refashion it in such a way that what you are counting on—that you should feel yourselves to be the masters and cooperate with the other peoples, with rights, so to speak, and if you work better you live better—in such a way that all this is brought about. [sentence as heard]

[Indistinct remarks from crowd] [Gorbachev continues] Only you have had economic, only you have had political independence, cultural, linguistic independence and so on. Great (?freedoms), so to speak. Moreover, every people needs to know what is due to it today and what tomorrow. For plans are always needed; there has to be something to count on. Investment can be put into absolutely the wrong things. So there you are. All these processes of decentralization and democratization—these are all centrifugal forces.

But at the same time there is that which unites us all, and we must feel and think and compare. And a force for this, a political force, which concentrates the entire intellectual potential and scientific potential—such an integrating force in this enormous centrifugal country should be and is provided by the party. But it, its activity, must also be rethought. So the quesetion not only of primary organizations must be posed in a new way, but also perhaps, in the conditions of a federation, the main question should be the independence of the communist parties from the CPSU. As for how this should be done, we are in the run-up to the congress, and this will be one of the central issues for the congress. Quite soon, at the January plenum, a policy document will be published, and then you will be able to see much of what it's all about. So reflect on it. All the best!

[Crowd] All the best. [Video shows Gorbachev waving, Raisa smiling] [end video recording]

PRAVDA Report

PM1201002190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "The Republic's Concerns Are the Country's Concerns: M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, 11 Jan—[passage omitted covered in referent item] The working people of Soviet Lithuania have been waiting for his visit. For several days in January prior to this workers, rural workers, students, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia had met with participants of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum, which had discussed the situation in the Lithuanian Communist Party after the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress and the general situation prevailing in the republic. In Vilnius and various regions of Lithuania there has been frank dialogue the aim of which is to consolidate the efforts of Communists and carefully study the stances of various social movements. Many people in the republic consider that what Lithuanians need today are not emotion and a striving for mutual recrimination, but a well-considered approach to the realities. What they need are steps which are aimed at renewing the federation of sovereign union republics.

All Lithuania's morning papers today devoted commentaries to M.S. Gorbachev's arrival. TIESA called the visit a historic event. In a letter entitled "Let Us Maintain Our Dignity" it writes that we are being visited by one of the most popular figures in the world, a figure who has advanced the idea of new thinking that is so necessary today. He is coming at a crucial time—during a period of political and spiritual rebirth of the people..

From the airport M.S. Gorbachev immediately set out for V.I. Lenin Square. It was filled by thousands of Vilnius inhabitants. The weather in the city was springlike. The beautiful public garden surrounded by old lime trees was free of snow. Lime trees are for Lithuanians what birches are for Russians, and the song "The Lime Trees Are Blossoming in Vilnius Again" is as popular here as the melodies devoted to the Russian birch tree are.

M.S. Gorbachev got out of his car to cries of welcome from those assembled. He laid flowers on the V.I. Lenin Monument and then made his way to the inhabitants assembled on the square.

Voice: Good afternoon, welcome to our land!

Voice: We have been waiting for you here, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

M.S. Gorbachev: And I have been waiting to meet you here. Let us think together about how best to carry out our common cause, a cause which we started together and which set the whole world in motion. At such a time, when we have all begun to refashion and ennoble our lives, when we have spoken to one another so frankly, I would like to stress how impoortant it is for us today to have a clear picture of our objective.

Virgilius Zigmantovichyus, director of a rural culture center: We all talk and talk about new thinking, Mikhail Sergeyevich, but what precisely is it? These words have to be given real content.

M.S. Gorbachev: I welcome the fact that you, a young man, are concerned by this question. After all, this essentially affects the fate of the Soviet people and all the peoples of the country. If you want to find correct answers to these questions, I welcome this doubly. Let us together search for the answers and examine the current situation. Let us consider that this will be at the same time something to take home to think about, because we will not be able to answer all the questions on this square at once.

So first. Who are we? Representatives of all nationalities live in all republics and almost all settlements. Even in Lithuania, where the proportion of Lithuanians is largest, there are nevertheless 20 percent non-Lithuanians—and these people have the same rights. In our country today 60-odd million people live outside their national territories. Let us now repeat your question: We are withdrawing, drawing in on ourselves, becoming isolated, but what about these people and their fate? They are asking this question in Poland, and in the FRG they are inquiring about the fate of the Volga Germans. We are all bound together, whether we like it or not. Particularly as you and I have still not lived as a federation. We have lived in a unitary state, and our realities have taken shape in it.

Voice: But the economy, after all, is suffering from all this....

M.S. Gorbachev: We will come to that topic later. But let us continue talking about people for the moment. We want to make people feel better and want this to apply to everyone. Remember how, as soon as the question of the Russian language was posed in the Ukraine, this immediately hurt the interests of many people. Yet in the Ukraine there are 15 million Russians, the whole of the Donbass is Russian, Kharkov is Russian, 66 percent of the Crimea is Russian. As you can see, it is not enough to hurl a slogan, it has to be carefully thought out. Collecting signatures is no solution either. Let us take Estonia, 40 percent of the inhabitants living there have for a long time been Slavs. They have lived there for centuries. There is already an autononomous non-Estonian-speaking area arising in Estonia. But suppose Estonia raises the question of withdrawing from the Soviet Union, what then, will we find ourselves in a split? That path could result in losses and blood.

Voice: There will be no blood here....

M.S. Gorbachev: But you should not hurry, discussion should be honest, avoiding deadlock situations, avoiding using a knife or scalpel to divide a living organism.

Voice: But what is to be done if the Soviet Union does not restructure itself?

M.S. Gorbachev: I do not agree, we are making progress in perestroyka. Here I will switch to another perestroyka topic—the economy. We have developed and have located productive forces as in a unitary state. A division of labor has taken shape in our country such that Uzbekistan, for example, uses all its land to give us all cotton. But it could produce milk on its irrigated land and other agricultural produce. That is specialization for you. But now let us consider your "Sigma" plant." You and I, comrades have several plants in Lithuania which are unique to the country. We will not discuss now whether this is a good or bad thing. But if one of them were to stop today, the whole country would feel the blow.

I want to assure you all, M.S. Gorbachev went on, turning to the assembled people, that the line which we have adopted embraces the solution of many questions: The fate of socialism and of the whole of society, and, of course, the federation—that is to say, the future of all the peoples who live in the Union. We believe that it is perestroyka which has created the environment in which one can discuss all these questions calmly and be sure that no one is standing behind your back and taking notes to throw it back at you tomorrow and accuse you of anything he likes. That is the first and main gain of perestroyka: Today we can discuss all questions clamly, responsibly, and seriously. True, we do not avoid demagoguery and inflammatory talk. But I do think that the chief thing does nevertheless outweigh this: We have the opportunity to discuss all aspects of our life frankly.

On the other hand, perestroyka can only be viable [zhit] when the federation itself and people's mood changes. You will recall that we began with socioeconomic acceleration and then saw that it was faltering. We should first, it turns out, have solved the questions of the political system, and we have begun to tackle them. What is very important, the problems of interethnic relations must not be forgotten. It is possible to avoid confrontation on national grounds—I am convinced of this—only by changing the status of every republic and every people. You see: The slightest deviations from the understanding of justice in Estonia and Moldavia had the result of dangerously heating up the situation. You yourselves no doubt feel that a certain coolness has begun to run through our relations. But surely we did not launch perestroyka for this? No! In other words, it is necessary to carry out perestroyka in the federation and reappraise its role and the status of all republics and all the peoples in such a way that it becomes better rather than worse for everyone.

Large nation or small—they enjoy equal rights. Showing disregard for the destiny of a people, howevert small it may be, is a most dangerous policy, a dead-end policy, comrades. After all, whatever people may have turned up here with you—Belorussians, Poles, Ukrainians—are most likely also counting here in this land where they were born and where they live, on happiness for their children. Without fail, everything in this land must be done with the participation of that people. If something does not suit that people, this means that it is necessary to think about another policy, about different measures. Not just in the economy, but also in culture, language, and political processes so that people should feel themselves as masters on the land.

That is what the countenance of our new federation must be like. Here it is necessary to proceed to broad political autonomy [samostoyaetlnost], to unprecedented autonomy—political and economic. Just one thing can constitute the limit to this autonomy: It should not spill over into disintegration [razval], into autarky, into isolation, for this would destroy all the living links—human, economic, social, and scientific. Some people have forgotten what Lithuania used to be like. I will venture to recall what it was like. [A nation of] smallholders, don't take offense. This does not demean your people: The whole country was a peasant country at that time. And now look at present-day Lithuania. It has changed radically. But it is clear that the time has come when it is necessary to give the republic a second wind, like any other people, and the country as a whole. So let's work at that.

I shall also recall one more fact: In prerevolutionary Lithuania 57 percent of the capital was foreign capital. People say to us: Autonomy, autonomy. This smacks, you know, a little of demagoguery. Don't take offense, I am returning to the facts. Forty years have elapsed since the collapse of the colonial system when many states received political autonomy. But essentially they were not autonomous and are not autonomous now. They were a raw-material appendage and are such today. Resources are bought up on the cheap and the workforce is exploited on the cheap. Yet in the mother countries a high standard of living is ensured. So, if someone today wants to sever the links in our country, to throw some republic, or small people into the abyss then I, comrades, don't want to be part of that policy. I shall try to prove the other thing of which I am convinced. We need to reappraise our union: This is important not only for Russia, but also for Lithuania, for the Ukraine, and for Armenia. Today's leadership and the future leadership of the country will be even more open to that.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have said nothing about the Communist Party.

M.S. Gorbachev: About the Communist Party. If we can see ways of solving complex problems of perestroyka on the basis of the renewal of the federation while preserving integrational, and cooperative processes, if we are seeking new paths to economic and intellectual cooperation, then under decentralization the party remains the cementing, integrating force of the whole of society and of the country. This does not just affect Lithuania. The party must comprehend all the processes and unite the interests of people when attaining these goals. Therefore, I am in favor of autonomy, the broadesat autonomy, that goes without saying. The issue is ripe. In January we shall say a lot that is new in our program document which will be dicussed by the party. So, I am in favor of the broadest autonomy within the framework of the CPSU.

M.S. Gorbachev's frank conversations with the inhabitants of Vilnius on V.I. Lenin Square and on T. Shevchenko Street lasted more than an hour. Then he set off for the fuel apparatus production association. This enterprise's product is known and eagerly received on many of the country's tractor building production lines. A multi-ethnic collective works here: 30% are Poles, 29% are Lithuanians, 20% are Russians, and there are many Belorussians and representatives of other nationalities. All of them are concerned to an idenical degree about the affairs of their enterprise and about the difficult situation which has taken shape in Lithuania.

The visit to this enterprise became yet further confirmation of the fact that the main thing on any trip by the General Secretary wherever he may go, is meetings and chats with people. It was with fervent desire and profound interest that he entered into a dialogue with workers and engineers, attentively listened to their opinions and questions, defended his stance, persuaded, disagreed, argued, and explained. Apparently carried away with this human contact, he forgot about the time. The schedule of the trip was disrupted. But this was most likely the kind of instance when a violation of the schedule was useful for both sides.

Immediately beyond the bottleneck of the plant's entrance Mikhail Sergeyevich ran into a veritable squall of applause and greetings, and those assembled expressed gratitude for his coming to see them. M.S. Gorbachev walked through the fuel pump assembly and mechanical shops. Conditions of labor, everyday conditions, opportunities for career development, the moral climate, and ethnic relations were, in very general terms, the main topics of the conversations with workers T. Tumas, L. Adamovich, I. Millem, S. Smola, V. Grazhdanov, and others. Among his interlocutors were representatives of the Lithuanian, Polish, Belorussian, and Russian nationalities which is typical of the collective, and not just of this collective, Lithuania is a multi-ethnic republic. There was talk of the inadmissibility of kindling interethnic discord, of whipping up chauvinist sentiments. There was talk of the fact that the guarantee of Lithuania's successful progression along the path of perestroyka lies in the friendship and cohesion of all the inhabitants of the republic, regardless of their national affiliation.

A. Brazauskas who joined in one of the conversations reacted as follows to the heartfelt alarm for the future which certain female workers of a nonindigenous nationality expressed. "But why alarm? As you can see, we are living in such a way as not to allow any harm to come to anyone, of whatever nationality that person may belong." Matters will not reach the point of bloodshed as in Nagorno-Karabakh, and they will not be allowed to reach that point, said I. Ivashkevich, one of the plant's workers who expanded on this theme. But people have observed repeatedly that separatist sentiments in the republic have engendered a cooling in relations between Lithuanians and those inhabitants of the republic who belong to other nationalities.

The alarm is evidently associated with reflections about the fact that the situation in the republic is changing, M.S. Gorbachev observed. We must put our heads together and think how to improve and not worsen the situation.

M.S. Gorbachev's interlocutors wanted to hear from him personally how he envisions the paths for Lithuania's future development, and for that of the Union as a whole. He answered many questions. But he covered them more fully and in greater detail in his speech to the representatives of the labor collective who filled the plant's House of Culture to overflowing.

In the evening M.S. Gorbachev met in the House of the Press with representatives of the republic's creative and scientific intelligentsia.

Gorbachev Talks to Vilnius Fuel Plant Workers

Radio Report

LD1101214290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Report on visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to "50th Anniversary of the USSR" Fuel Equipment Plant in Vilnius on 11 January, including exchange of remarks between Gorbachev and plant workers—recorded]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] this afternoon, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with a work collective here in Vilnius for the first time. The delegation of the CPSU Central Committee arrived at the 50th Anniversary of the USSR Fuel Equipment Plant. It is one of the biggest enterprises in the capital of Lithuania. It produces fuel pumps, carburators, injector nozzles, and other equipment for the largest tractor works in the country. An internationalist collective works here, a collective which is friendly and united, and famous in Lithuania for its traditions. On the square in front of the works, Mikhail Sergeyevich already was thoroughly engrossed in conversation with the many city folk who had come to greet him.

Then there were meetings in the workshops of the enterprises, and conversations with workers of different nationalities. Here is a recording of one of them.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] The point is that if ecology is disrupted somewhere, then something must be done. If distortions have emerged in the fact that.... [Gorbachev changes thought] If demography has led to such distortions that even the indigenous population is suffering, if things are not right with housing, or something else, it is necessary to look into this. This means it is necessary to call a halt and look into what is needed and what is not. But those who are here—people, wherever they live, whoever they are, and whatever people they represent, ought to feel alright.

[Woman] But we did not feel that. In our country we did not have that.

[Gorbachev] This ought to be the case in any civilized country, and so it is. Moreover, if we want to call ourselves a socialist country, how can that be so?

[Woman] Of course, how can one have differences between people?

[Gorbachev] Yes, differences between people.

[Woman] Quite so.

[Gorbachev] Nothing will work if we draw lines between people on those criteria, and if we divide people according to nationalities.

[Woman] White on black. Precisely so, according to nationality. Precisely so; children here used to play together. People here play together and talk to each other. All my sons speak Lithuanian and have nothing against it. They speak it very well. You cannot tell that they are not Poles. [as heard] And now our and their little children themselves do not play together because they do not speak Lithuanian.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think that we will get over this, but we must do it as quickly as possible. [end recording]

'Frankness' Seen in Meeting

LD1201124990 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] At 1 pm Mikhail Gorbachev and those escorting him arrived at the Vilnius fuel injection equipment plant. He was met here with placards, mainly in Russian reading: "Freedom to Lithuania." Mr Gorbachev stopped and had a talk with the people. He cautioned them to be reserved and restrained as conservative forces were still active. In this plant, as in many others of Vilnius, people of various nationalities work together. There are about 30 percent Russians, 30 percent of Polish people, 20 percent of Lithuanians, and a lot of Belorussians.

Mikhail Gorbachev was shown about the plant and spoke with its workers. In one of the shops of the plant he spoke with a worker holding a placard in Russian: "Not more rice but total independence." Mr Gorbachev stopped by the placard and asked who told the worker to write it. I wrote it myself, was the answer. What are you, asked the Soviet leader. A locksmith, answered the worker. Your Russian is very good, Mikhail Gorbachev was surprised. We Lithuanians speak Russian, said the worker, it's the Russians residing here who can't learn to speak Lithuanian. The Soviet leader then asked the man how he envisaged independence. The answer was straightforward enough: I was born in independent Lithuania and I want to die in independent Lithuania as well. According to Lenin no nation has the right to dictate to another nation. Only then will be independent all of us. So, a nation has to manage its affairs itself, Mikhail Gorbachev wanted to be sure of this point. If you mean that a nation should manage its economy, cultural affairs, foreign contacts and trade then I fully agree with you. I am for independence of this kind. But perhaps you mean leaving the Soviet Union. Have you thought it over? Yes, answered the worker. But do you know everything, asked the high-ranking guest? Did you know that 60 million people in the Soviet Union live outside their ethnic boundaries? Where are they going to go if all the republics leave the Soviet Union?

The worker noted that there is only a quarter of a million of non-Lithuanians residing in Lithuania and we Lithuanians are concerned about those non-Lithuanians who do not respect the local residents. The Soviet leader got really angry then when he heard this: so, you accuse the Russians of being exploiters. But what kind of exploiters would provide you with millions of tonnes of raw cotton, black oil, and other raw materials not for hard currency? The worker had an answer to this as well: We had hard currency in pre-war Lithuania, however, you took it all away in 1940. Mikhail Gorbachev explained that he was well acquainted with statistical data about pre-war Lithuania, about its growth after World War II. It would be very bad if everybody thought the way the worker did, said Mr Gorbachev. You are in for a lot of economic trouble, he remarked while walking away.

We told you about this talk in detail so that you could understand the level of frankness that permeated all the talks of the Soviet leader with the people of Lithuania.

Makes Speech, Answers Questions

LD1101230290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1825 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Speech followed by question and answer session by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to representatives of the fuel equipment plant in Vilnius on 11 January; introduced by correspondent Biryukov; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Biryukov] The floor is given to Comrade Gorbachev. [video shows Gorbachev addressing an assembly from a stage; Lithuanian CP (Communist Party) Central Committee First Secretary Brazauskas and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Medvedev are on his right]

[Gorbachev] [Words indistinct] we need a federation. Why a federation? Because in such a federation, such a federation would be like a political superstructure above the foundation that has already formed. This economic foundation of ours is a federal one. We've been saying that the whole of Europe is integrating and moving towards a common market, a more solid market by 1990.

[date as heard] I've made a comparison, and as for the level of joint production—the comrades from Gosplan helped me out, and indeed the leaders of your republic know this—our level of joint production turns out in many cases to be higher than in the European Community. This is how labor is divided. Therefore, here we are at your plant today. The director has told me that you have connections with more than 200 enterprises and that the workers are complaining that forgings of some sort are not being supplied from the Ukraine, and that everything has to be transported by vehicles and aircraft from some other place.

On the other hand, however, I would say that if anyone in Russia or in the Ukraine, in these republics, thinks: Look here, we're giving them raw materials, energy oil, and so on, and metal, and keeping everyone going, so to speak, I have to say to everyone, to all our people throughout the country that we are all dependent and cannot live any other way.

In Lithuania now, there are several enterprises that are unique in the union. If such an enterprise were now to cease stopping [as heard] to stop, or if I were to be stopped, the entire union would be left short. The whole economy would suffer. Is that good or bad? I think, actually, it's bad that this kind of monopolism has evolved. It's bad, but I want to say to you that it's a fact and it's in line with the current world trends. So I'm asking.... [Gorbachev changes thought] So there's that question.

Now let's take defense or communications, the ports through which this huge country of 300 million lives and has taken, [Gorbachev changes thought] and it has invested in order to create those ports and those contacts. Has the republic gained everything from this? Well, I have to say no, not everything, but a great deal.

[Brazauskas] Very little from the ports, Mikhail Sergeyevich, very litle.

[Gorbachev] Comrade Brazauskas here, since he knows that I know it all and he knows it all, has expressed a reservation about the ports. Correct, not enough from the ports.

As for hard currency in general, you were receiving from the Union more currency than you were giving it in hard currency goods. Is that right?

[Brazauskas] (?The whole) time, until the present.

[Gorbachev] And until the present. That is what both he and I know. When people know everything, then they can have a businesslike conversation. But when some people know and others know nothing, then there is speculations, you see? These only incite people.

But I am not saying all this against somebody. I simply want to tell you that no republic can live now without any other republic. The question arises: How are we to build further? When we talk about independence, this and that, etc., is it compatible or incompatible? How can we solve this question now? I think that if we are going to solve it by means of political definitions and noisy slogans, nothing but disaster will come out of it. But if we take realities into consideration and explore how we can build up our policy, real policy, we shall succeed. I am convinced that we must not leave the federation in such a state. We must not leave the republics in such a position, deprived of rights. We must not! But we must harmonize things inside the union, in order not to redraw boundaries, and not to test any people too much, to the extent that some republic, small or large, will drift off.

I will tell you: Even a large republic will not be able to manage on its own. It would have spent about 10 years before setting everything up inside itself. Even Russia...[changes thought] although in Russia, too, there are plans. The people of Russia have already had it suggested to them. That is why these processes have started there as well. By the way, not without prompting from here, too. [laughter, applause]

Such seditious thoughts are also being suggested to the people of Russia, you know, especially with reference to calculations by scientists—namely that if Russia were to leave—just think of it—if Russia were to leave the union, then in 4 years it would supposedly become the most prosperous state in the world.

I must say...[applause] I must say....[pauses] Do not applaud. Listen, instead. I think that independence definitely is needed, comrades, by the federation. Definitely. We must give sovereignty, and delimit as much as is possible the competence of the union and of the republics in political terms. We must live together. How are we to begin to adapt our freedom and interests to each other, to reckon with, to respect and to support each other? That is the way things are between people; otherwise, you will not build relations. Try to build them within the family. Not everything proceeds so simply. And between peoples? Lithuania is free. It is free. But are you going to cooperate with the rest, or not? Or are you breaking away? Do you know what I will tell you? All processes are taking place synchronously and in parallel, the economic, political and cultural processes. Therefore, it is necessary to give every people an opportunity to realize its own potential, both in the economy and in politics and in culture. This must be done. This is what must be done. In real terms, what we have in our country is the road to filling the federation with new content. Any other road will bring into play forces which we cannot even imagine.

[Biryukov] The meeting ran over its allotted time span. But people wanted to be heard, and works representatives spoke one after another. Everything was said frankly, without diplomacy. What is wrong with that? Everyone has a right to his own opinion. The main thing uniting all the speeches was alarm at the development of events and an aspiration to find points of contiguity. Many questions were asked at the meeting, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev answered them.

[Gorbachev, reading from written questions] The CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo pretend that nothing is happening? The CPSU Central Committee is not pretending that nothing is happenening? Read all my speeches, and you will see that the Central Committee is realistically evaluating what is happening. I am sure that if this is restructuring, and if this is a revolutionary recasting of the fundamental foundations—and without it there will be no restructuring, we will not change, and we will not come out onto the broad road to the revival of socialism and of our peoples of the entire country—then I must say it will not take place easily. If it is thought that the Central Committee would only then see everything, and would not pretend not to see it, if it would immediately, on any step, on any novelty, immediately rap someone on the head or grab him by the collar or by the scruff of the neck, as we say in Russia. Then we would not get very far. We will nevertheless stick to the methods which we want, political, democratic, open ones, engaging in democratic processes to solve all questions.

Does that mean that from this time the law does not exist, discipline does not exist, responsibility—again, no! Democracy will not achieve its development, moreover it will misfire if it is not accompanied by a strengthening of discipline, conscientious discipline, by a strengthening of order. [applause]

Gorbachev Meets Lithuanian Intelligentsia

Given Warm Welcome

LD1101224290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Correspondent A. Paulyus report from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Approximately 2 hours ago, immediately after his visit to the fuel equipment works, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was given a warm welcome at the Press House. Scientists, writers, artists, composers, journalists, and other members of Lithuania's creative intelligentsia, as well as party and local Soviet workers, gathered in the hall there to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich.

Opening the meeting, Yuras Pozhela, president of the Academy of Sciences, noted that the visit to Lithuania by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is of exceptional significance for the further advancement of the Lithuanian people along the road of perestroyka, democratization, and sovereignty and for tackling the complex problems that have cropped up in Lithuania during the renewal of Soviet society. The speaker felt that the republic has to decide which functions to retain for itself and which to hand over to the Union. In order to better serve its people, the Lithuanian Communist party must be independent.

At Mikhail Sergeyevich's request, other participants in the meeting also expressed their views—at times sharp, just [as heard] and not always uncontroversial ones—on the decisions of the 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party and on the future of the republic and the country as a whole. The meeting is still going on. [Video shows Pozhela addressing the meeting; Gorbachev, Medvedev, Brazauskas and others on the stage beside him]

Calls for Balance of Interests

LD1201090890 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said that he supports the independence of Soviet republics within a revamped Soviet Federation.

Speaking at a meeting with Lithuanian intellectuals in Vilnius late on Thursday, Gorbachev said that certain circles were speculating on people's ethnic sentiments, trying to impose a course of actions on them that is clearly at odds with reality. He warned of the danger of such tactics.

"The country can no longer live as it lived before, the renewal should embrace all spheres: The material basis, the ideological superstructure, the spiritual world, the federation, and the army," Gorbachev said.

"The pressing problems cannot be solved by old approaches, on deformed structures and on the Stalinist totalitarian state concept.

"The USSR Constitution's article on the right of the union republics to self-determination is of fundamental significance," the Soviet president said.

He favoured the principle of self-determination up to separation and said that there was already a bill on the mechanism of realisation of that right by any republic, should it decide to quit the Soviet Union. This bill will be submitted for a nationwide discussion.

Gorbachev meanwhile called for balancing the interests of all nations. "Economic, political, spiritual and cultural relations should not be broken but enriched with a new content," he said.

Gorbachev said the Soviet Communist Party's role in the renewed political system would be a consolidating, balancing and unifying force, acting in the interests of the USSR as a whole.

He supported the United States Communist Party and the independence of the Communist Parties in the republics.

Komsomol Leader Macaitis on Meeting

LD1201104790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Interview with Alfonsas Macaitis, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee, by unidentified special correspondent in Vilnius on 11 January following Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the intelligentsia, in which Macaitis participated—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Tell me, please, there is very serious talk in the republic to the effect that to a certain extent the country's fate is being decided as well, not only that of Lithuania. What are your feelings? Is this talk in the right vein?

[Macaitis] There is talk to the effect that we are not taking the right path, that is, the Communist Party of Lithuania and those people who are standing on the street today are in some kind of euphoric state. But for all that, I agree with those people. I believe we are taking the right path. But today I would not have posed the question as it is being posed, that is, as the question of demarcation and separatism. There is no question of this.

When Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke with us at this meeting, I probably did understand that yes, we do indeed want to be free, we ourselves want to decide issues, but we understand that we cannot live without good neighbors. As they say, it is better to have good neighbors than a bad family. In this sphere we are somehow like that family. I believe that we will have to determine our level of freedom. The circumstances of life about which we have spoken so much today compel us to do that. Therefore, I do not see great contradictions here. I believe that even after such a difficult conversation as the one today we will still be able to find a way out. I am nevertheless an optimist in this sphere. We will understand each other better.

[Correspondent] You know I felt that even before the meeting people were—if I may say so—slightly different, in a rather different mood. Now they understand that it is possible to find a way to consolidation. [sentence as heard]

[Macaitis] I believe that it is possible, but of course not when there are such sharp differences in stances as there were today. I believe that at present there were in some places definite points where we did not even come closer together but got farther apart. But with regard to some elements we did, as it were, become sort of closer. Here it seems to me that there were even definite contradictions in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich. Maybe I misunderstood. So we still have to sort out these contradictions together. Only after that will we see where and at what points there can be mutual understanding.

But I am sure that we probably should not give up our aims today, because we see the course of development of the Soviet Union, or of a new union as such that may come into being among free states, as being on the same course that we ourselves are following.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich said that mainly he holds the same views [words indistinct].

[Macaitis] Yes, with Brazauskas.

[Correspondent] With Brazauskas, and that the views mainly coincide. This means that one needs to look for points of contact as well, to develop these views.

[Macaitis] Of course, one has to do that, but there are elements on which we still cannot agree. If we take our party issues, we are united on one thing, of course, in that we all want to live better. The main thing is to ensure that we do live better. We understand that today we have to take a course that is more abrupt and not wait for everyone else, not a leveling-type of course, and so we are suggesting a course like this. Here there are apparently other variants: Federation, or confederation. But we believe that our course is probably more (?correct).

Party Official on Meeting

LD1201120990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the "Lithuanian Today" program, presented by Guoda Salciute]

[Text] [Salciute] And now, impressions from yesterday's encounters with the head of state and party, Mikhail Gorbachev.

First, a telephone interview with a participant in the meeting with the creative intelligentsia, member of the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Academician Eduardas Vilkas.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] At yesterday's meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said that he knew your polemic nature, but you also knew his nature. There was such a phrase. Maybe you could comment on it and on Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that if Lithuania secedes from the Soviet Union, he will do everything he can to prove that this is an incorrect step.

[Vilkas] This is roughly what was said. I do not wish to use words which are not nice, but, speaking politely, Gorbachev is a politician and in politics, as you know, anything can happen. But he is rather democratic and correct. I think that he will not firmly adhere to the threatening positions being adhered to by the majority of Russia's....

[correspondent interrupting] Representatives of Russia and representatives of the Communist Party.

[Vilkas] In the CPSU Central Committee, there are people who are opposed. I intend to speak about it at tomorrow's meeting. Of course, I could say a great deal here, but let us wait for tomorrow.

[Correspondent] Now, summarizing the conversation, what is your impression of yesterday's meeting of creative intelligentsia with Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Vilkas] As it is customary to say, it was not monosemantic. I cannot agree with many assertions by Gorbachev. I agree, of course, with some of them, but on the whole, the nature of the meeting, the tone of the conversation and the attempt, so to speak, not to put us into some lower position, but to be equal, discuss that he will prove, and that we will change; this was very good. Only I have my doubts whether they have any proof.

[Correspondent] As far as I can recall, Mikhail Gorbachev roughly said that there were no arguments.

[Vilkas] There were no arguments, but we do not need them. Whether we will or not, this is the argument. But, my God, one cannot get on with a husband or a wife whom one does not love. What arguments can there be? I ask them: What are Russia's interests to have us in the Union. Let them explain. What replies can there be? There are none, there are no replies. We will see. [end recording]

Gorbachev Says Secession Mechanism Being Drafted

LD1201082390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0610 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Lithuania]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Yesterday was a day which was very, very full of events and conversations, which were sometimes even trenchant, but open, and as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, a dialogue is being carried out which is sometimes difficult but useful. [passage omitted]

I think that the main meeting yesterday was the meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with representatives of the creative intelligentsia in the House of the Press. People spoke willingly and sincerely. The majority voiced the idea that the perestroyka of the Communist Party of Lithuania is irreversible and that the main aim of the Lithuanian people is an independent democratic state.

Incidentally, that idea, that wish, was also expressed at the rally which took place in Vilnius. At least 50,000 people took part in it who had come from all over Lithuania, and perhaps even more, because the sea of people filled Cathedral Square and the nearby old streets of Vilnius. The idea of the rally, which was organized by Sajudis, the Lithuanian movement of perestroyka, was to demonstrate the will of the people to attain the state independence of Lithuania.

That question was raised on more than one occasion at the meeting with representatives of the creative intelligentsia, too, and as complex aquestion as the exit of the republic from the Soviet union was discussed.

Replying to these questions, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev pointed out that, there is such a right in the Constitution, but as yet, there is no such mechanism and that the draft of such a mechanism, taking account of the mutual interests of all sides, is being worked out and will be presented for nationwide discussion. A great deal was said of perestroyka in the party itself and of the new content of the federation of republics. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister on Secession Procedure

AU1101220090 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Statement by USSR Internal Affairs Minister Vadim Bakatin in Vienna on 11 January 1990; statement made in Russian with passage by passage German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today the Soviet interior minister has commented on the question of Lithuanian autonomy in Vienna. Vadim Bakatin said that the Moscow government was working out the procedures that would give individual republics the possibility of leaving the USSR.

[Bakatin] I do not think that there is the danger of a civil war in this connection. According to the Constitution the republic has, of course, the right to a certain degree of separatism, which has recently been practiced more and more. However, this is not a private matter of a single republic; it involves the entire USSR. Other USSR republics also have an interest in this very republic, and we have not yet worked out a mechanism or certain procedures that would give a republic the possibility of leaving the USSR—I mean this from a legal point of view. We must work out such legal proceedings, which we will certainly do. If a republic were to have this desire, that is to say, if the majority of the population is in favor of such a step—because this means that a referendum has to be held—then such a republic would be able to leave the USSR without causing a civil war.

Gorbachev's First Day in Lithuania Reviewed

LD1201104890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] If any of you did not have enough patience to watch the meeting with the creative intelligentsia at the Vilnius Press Palace, here are some thoughts: Our people spoke, as did Mikhail Gorbachev. I did not hear any concessions from either side. The independent Lithuanian Communist Party representatives' position was very firm. The speeches of those who represent the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU were not impressive, poorly argued, and often provoked laughter and funny situations. Those who were watching observed it, and I am not going to repeat it. I will also remind you that, yesterday Mikhail Gorbachev did not express and, maybe did not have to, his opinion on the existence of two communist parties in Lithuania. I would think that after his visit to Siauliai, and after he gets acquainted with the center of Lithuania, with the true

Lithuanian mood, he will do it tomorrow during a meeting of the party aktiv. Thus, tomorrow ... but finishing his speech Mikhail Gorbachev said: You think, and I will think, what we should do. Yesterday, Mikhail Gorbachev's attitude was as follows: The professors want to foist on the people the order [schema] of their actions, that is, bad order of their actions. Professors who were sitting in the hall, three of them, spoke at the meeting on people, that is, on Lithuanian people. Later, it was asserted in various ways, and the reaction in the hall confirmed it, that these professors reflected the mood of the people.

What else is there today? According to information supplied by journalists, Mikhail Gorbachev's day started early. In the morning he proposed a place for a meeting. I say place and not the meeting, with people of the temporary Central Committee Bureau, 10 or 11 people. This meeting, and I am guessing, took place at 0830 [local time] in his residence. It lasted roughly 1 hour. People have not yet returned from there, and I could not find them.

At the time, Algirdas Brazauskas, Vladimiras Beriozovas, and Justas Paleckis were in their offices and, of course, did not know anything about it.

I can add that a plenum of the temporary central committee of the alternative Lithuanian communist party will take place at 1700 hours [local time]. It will take place where they work. People who are interested know the address, but this is only preliminary information.

I conclude my information. When I have more details, I will inform you about it.

TASS Roundup

LD1101213290 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived today in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. His visit is in pursuance of the resolution of the December 1989 plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

From the airport the Soviet leader went to Lenin Square in Vilnius where he laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Lenin.

During brief talks with residents in the city's streets Gorbachev noted that perestroyka presupposes the resolution of numerous problems: the fate of socialism, entire society and federation—the future of all nations residing in the country. "We believe it is perestroyka that created the environment in which all these questions can be quietly discussed," he said.

Gorbachev noted the priority importance of solving problems relating to the political system. "And we have begun tackling these problems," he added.

Speaking about inter-ethnic relations, he stressed that it was possible to avoid confrontation on ethnic grounds only by changing the state of the federation, the situation of each republic and each nationality.

Restructuring the federation should proceed in such a way, and its role and the situation in all the republics, of all peoples should be reconsidered so as to make the situation better, not worse for all. To ignore the fate of people, however small, is the most dangerous and hopeless policy.

It is necessary to agree to broad independence—political and economic, the Soviet leader stressed discussing ways to improve the Soviet Union's federal structure. He noted that there can only be one limit to independence—it must not result in degradation, autarchy and isolation.

We have to rethink our union—it is important for Russia as well as for Lithuania, the Ukraine and Armenia. The country's present and future leadership will be ever more open to this, Gorbachev said.

The Soviet leader stressed the role of the Soviet Communist party as a cementing, integrating force when society and the country are being decentralized. The party has to think over all processes, integrate the interests of all people in order to achieve the set objectives, the Soviet leader said, favouring the broadest possible independence of republican party organisations within the framework of the Soviet Communist Party.

Gorbachev's conversations with people in the street lasted for more than an hour. He then went to the Vilnius Fuel Equipment Production Association where he walked through its shops, talked wih workers and responded to their questions. The Soviet leader addressed representatives of the association's work collective at a meeting in the hall of the Association's Community Centre.

Later in the day, Mikhail Gorbachev met representatives of the republic's artistic and intellectual community in the House of the Press in Vilnius.

Gorbachev Meets Provisional Leadership 12 Jan

LD1201141890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Jan—TASS Special Correspondents Aleksandr Kanischev and Yuriy Sizov report:

Attention was drawn to the need to consolidate the forces of Lithuania's communists in the course of a conversation that Mikhail Gorbachev had here this morning with the secretaries and members of the bureau of the Provisional Central Committee [CC] of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU platform).

During the conversation which took place prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's departure by air for Siauliai it was noted that no radical renewal or increase in the living standards in the country will be achieved, unless all the features of its multinational character are fully taken into account. The CPSU Central Committee position has been set forth in its platform on interethnic relations. This platform should be implemented. One must not lag behind the processes taking place in this extremely sensitive sphere. A solution to the problems of Lithuania and indeed to the problems of the whole country lies within the course of renewal of our federation and within the course of joint quests.

Those taking part in the conversation emphasized the role of the CPSU as a guarantor of the irreversibility of perestroyka, with which the destinies of the country and the cause of socialism and peace are inseparably linked. Vadim Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; Yuriy Maslyukov, Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman; and Ivan Frolov, CPSU Central Committee secretary and PRAVDA editor-in-chief, took part in the conversation.

Afterward Mikhail Gorbachev left for Siauliai, a town a little over 200 km northwest of the Lithuanian capital.

Gorbachev Visits Lithuania's Shyaulyayskiy Rayon

Arrives 12 Jan

LD1201120790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meetings with working people in Lithuania are continuing. Today he flew from Vilnius to Shyaulyay, which is situated just over 200 km north-west of the republic's capital. He will spend the second day of his working trip here.

Meetings have begun at the "Bridai" Kolkhoz in Shyaulyayskiy Rayon. At the moment, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is talking to the farm's managers and employees of its sections.

In the afternoon, Comrade Gorbachev is expected to visit Shyaulyay's television apparatus works.

Visits Collective Farm

PM1201144390 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by unnamed TASS special correspondent under general heading: "Republic's Concerns are the Country's Concerns; M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Lithuanian SSR"]

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Jan—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who arrived here yesterday, is continuing his meetings with the Lithuanian working people. At noon he arrived in Shyaulyay, a large industrial and cultural center of the republic a little over 200 km northwest of the capital.

M.S. Gorbachev spent the first half of the afternoon at the "Briday" collective farm, Shyaulyayskiy Rayon, where he met with the farm leaders and workers in its sections. The morning newspapers published today are continuing to comment widely on the importance of the Soviet leader's trip to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and are publishing extensive items by their observers. The youth newspaper LIYETUVOS RITAS highlighted the following words: "Many political observers believe M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania to be one of the most important events in the entire 1,767 days he has been at the helm of the CPSU."

M.S. Gorbachev will spend the second half of the afternoon in Shyaulyay too. The collective of the television apparatus plant awaits meetings and talks with him.

Medvedev, Maslyukov Hold Talks in Lithuania 10 Jan

PM1101114490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Broad Spectrum of Opinion"]

[Text] Vilnius, 10 Jan—In the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] only one in five inhabitants is not Lithuanian. But in Vilnyusskiy Rayon it so happens that the majority of inhabitants belong to the so-called national minorities: More than 60% are Poles, 16% Belorussians, and 15% Russians. V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, M. Burakevicius, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform), and V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom [oblast committee], arrived here today. They had a meeting at the "Pyargale" ("Victory") Kolkhoz with its workers and representatives of other farms in the rayon. There was a detailed discussion of interethnic relations in the republic and in the rayon, of the problems that have arisen since the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, and of the paths of democratic development for the USSR and the CPSU.

The nature of the questions posed by those present itself testifies to the unusual situation in the republic and people's concern for the future of our federal state in the course of renewal and of the CPSU's unity. When will the republic's national minorities have a proportionate number of places on its elected organs? What ideological positions are shared by the two parties in Lithuania: The Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Communist Party on the renewed CPSU platform? The "temporary population of Lithuania"—what does that mean? What is Comrade A. Brazauskas' personal opinion on the creation of autonomous territorial entities in those parts of the republic where national minorities make up the majority of the population? Questions, questions.... And a joint quest for solutions, a quest that is sometimes heated and emotional, but ultimately constructive, displaying mutual interest. A quest for paths of social dialogue, ways of overcoming alienation and smoothing out conflicts. A quest that the whole republic so badly needs today.

V.A. Medvedev spoke of the democratization processes in the party and expressed support for USSR People's Deputy A.P. Brodavskiy, machine operator S. Serzhantovich, pensioner V. Dasevich, and other speakers who voiced anxiety in connection with the threat to national consensus in the republic and concern for the fate of the CPSU. The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that the success of perestroyka, on which Soviet people pin their hopes of a better life, depends crucially on the unity of the party's ranks.

The participants in a meeting held in the evening at the Vilnius Teacher Training Institute described as well-considered the decision of the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum to interrupt its work so as to examine the situation on the spot and try to understand the Lithuanian people's current concerns, and only after that to continue the discussion of the situation that has arisen since the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress.

V.A. Medvedev stressed that in 3 days of heated and emotional discussions he has gained an impression of fundamental importance—that of the support of the inhabitants of Lithuania for perestroyka and their respect for and confidence in M.S. Gorbachev, on whose visit to the republic they pin great hopes.

The representatives of the professorial and teaching staff and students who spoke at the meeting came out in support of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress resolutions and in support of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. They said that the decision on autonomy for the Lithuanian Communists follows the logic of perestroyka processes in the republic. A significant proportion of the speakers did not agree with the view that there is some connection between the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress decisions and the prospect of Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union.

Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, started his working day with a visit to the Vilnius "Sigma" Science and Production Association. The output from this enterprise, which develops and produces modern information technology, has wide uses in virtually all sectors of the Soviet Union's national economy and is exported to foreign countries.

The conversation in the director's office, which was at first a purely businesslike, production discussion, touched on the quality of goods, ways of improving the standard of "Sigma's" technological and scientific developments, and the prospects for the enterprise's development in the conditions of economic autonomy.

Firm links with many enterprises in the union were noted in the account by A. Chuplinskas, director of "Sigma," and S. Sidaras, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Computer Technology and Information Science, which belongs to the firm, of the association's tasks and problems and the plans for the future. Breaking those ties would result in great losses for "Sigma." After all, it is cooperation with the country's academic and sector science that considerably increases the association's own scientific potential. This was confirmed by V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronics industry, and Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who took part in the talk.

However, as almost always happens in Lithuania now, the conversation naturally turned to politics. Various views were expressed by the "Sigma" workers. One is this: Success for the enterprise's development and the implementation of its interesting, wide-ranging plans, like success for the development of the republic as a whole, will be ensured within the Soviet federation. Another is this: The USSR is too big and cumbersome an organism, and, therefore, it will be easier to impose order in a small, separate Lithuania.

A meeting in one of the shops also turned into a political rally. The people who surrounded Yu.D. Maslyukov called for peaceful dialogue, respect for each other's views, and mutual understanding. At the same time the banners that were carried into the shop included implacably extremist slogans offensive to the Soviet federation and to the Lithuanian Communist Party that has remained on the CPSU platform.

As on the previous afternoon in Klaypeda during the meeting with the city's party aktiv, which took place in an atmosphere of heated debate, here, too, at "Sigma," Yu.D. Maslyukov, addressing his partners in the dialogue, focused attention on the fact that the Lithuanian Communist Party that has proclaimed its withdrawal from the CPSU and the republic's Communist Party that has remained on the CPSU platform have far more in common than they have differences. It is not impulsiveness, emotion, and the desire for mutual reproaches and accusations, but a sober, considered approach to realities and the development of methods of cooperation that will make it possible to normalize the situation in the repbulic. The same applies to the problems of republican-union relations, both in the party and state spheres and in the economic sphere. The main point is not to take hasty decisions, not to give way to false illusions, not to destroy, but to strengthen and renew the federation of sovereign Soviet republics on a progressive basis. The potential for dialogue is not exhausted and the path to consensus is not closed, Yu.D. Maslyukov stressed.

During a meeting held on the same day with the collective of the radiometric instruments plant, the vast majority of the workers came out in favor of the indissolubility of the Soviet Union and its consolidation. There was condemnation of the position of certian of the republic's mass media, which impose a mood in which it is hard to adopt considered decisions.

In the evening there was a detailed examination at the republic Council of Ministers of the problems of the

Lithuanian SSR's transition to self-financing and economic accountability; among others, questions connected with the terms of the transfer of enterprises of unionwide significance to the control of the Lithuanian SSR were discussed.

Meetings with the other participants in the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum who are in Lithuania also continued. V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spent the whole day in Radvilishkskiy Rayon, where he had detailed discussions with the rayon's farm workers and specialists. G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, met with the collective of teachers and students of the Vilnius Civil Engineering Institute and the teaching aktiv of Ukmergskiy Rayon. I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and V.A. Kuptsov, first secretary of Vologda party obkom, talked with the working people of the Alitus cotton textiles combine.

In Vilnius, meetings with representatives of science and the creative intelligentsia continued until late evening. Taking part were Academician Ye.P. Velikhov, poet B.I. Oleynik, and People's Artist of the USSR M.A. Ulyanov.

During these difficult days for the republic, days filled with concern, reflections, and anxiety for the future, the inhabitants of Lithuania await M.S. Gorbachev's arrival and the meetings with him.

Material, Technical Supply Official Named

LD0901172590 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Romaldas Kozirovich has been appointed chairman of the Lithuanian State Committee for Material and Technical Provision. He is 46, a Karite by origin, and an engineer by profession. [passage omitted]

Trade Expert Comments on Lithuania's Economy

LD1101142090 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 11 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Dr. V. Maarse Nenas, deputy director of The Netherlands Foreign Trade Agency, during his 3-4 November visit to Vilnius, by TIESA correspondent Vilius Kavaliauskas under the rubric "Contacts and Contracts": "Lithuanian Economy Gives Hope"]

[Text] This was stated in Vilnius, by trade representatives from the Netherlands. Twenty-six representatives of Dutch firms, visited Lithuania during 3-4 November; they have been invited by the Trade and Industry Departments of the Lithuanian SSR, to investigate possibilities of trade with the Baltic Republics.

[Question] Lithuania is the third stop on your itinerary. What have you accomplished in Tallinn and Riga? Were you just scouting, or have you signed some contracts?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to note, this is our first organized visit to the Baltics. We wished to orient ourselves in the processes now taking place in your republics. Your path is much discussed in the West.

We were able to delve into your problems and to explore your options, in Estonia especially. After this type of trip, contacts between individual firms will determine whether first relations will be expanded to mutual trade or to other forms of cooperation.

[Question] You came here in the hope, no doubt, of finding suitable partners here. Do you remain optimistic, after having examined the situation closer?

[Answer] We were aware, even earlier, the standard of living is different, in the Baltics, from the rest of the country. I was familiar with the history of your countries and have read about the current processes. Certain notions are being adjusted by reality. Yet, I am returning home with the hope: If the new economic policy is continued, Lithuanian economy will really see future progress.

[Question] Do you perceive changes in relations with our organizations, already?

[Answer] Formerly, we had to go through Moscow in order to search for partners in the Baltics. In most cases, we were not even permitted to go to Vilnius. The central ministry used to decide everything. Now they themselves tell us: If you wish to trade with the Lithuanians, go see them. We cannot even believe such changes.

On the other hand, people in your republics are not prepared for such independence. Moscow used to do their thinking for them. In Latvia, for instance, we have noticed a tendency: They offer us goods and when, in the course of our negotations, we arrive at a price and the Latvians ask us: "How much will you give us for it...?" One must be aware of all market prices. We are not going to purchase the offered Latvian cucumbers, since the ones raised on the Greek islands are better and cheaper.

You also are unable to package the goods according to Dutch or Western standards.

[Question] Current Lithuanian traditional goods—agricultural products—cannot compete with the famous Dutch butter and dairy products, on the market. How can we make a breakthrough into the world market?

[Answer] You must analyze its demand, first. If it lacks something—often it can be something trivial, even—it should be offered as soon as possible, at the most accessible prices.

In preparing for independent life, one should not glorify relations with the West exclusively and even to an unhealthy extent, at times. For example, we were asked to help construct a sugar beet processing plant in Estonia. This will yield her own sugar which will be twice as expensive, however, than that produced in the

Ukraine. Would it not be simpler to purchase it from the Ukraine and divert its production toward a more meaningful goal?

In spite of this I think that Lithuania, with its sound agricultural traditions, may become a serious supplier—to the world—including the Western Europe—market, in the future.

[Question] Is establishment of joint ventures not the means toward achieving this?

[Answer] The term "joint venture" [rendered in English] is sought after, in the Soviet Union, like a last straw. In my opinion, this has a role within a much later stage of international economic cooperation. There exist many FRG-Dutch joint ventures for instance, but they are established only when the partners are able to trust one another. Soviet firms do not have either the name or the experience and their export profit mechanism is not even in place yet.

It is necessary to start with negotiations then, with trade and even later, with licenced production.

Both Holland and Lithuania are small countries and they must become narrowly specialized, in order to take their place within the mechanism of the world economy.

[Question] Are you not afraid to seek partnership with a country whose political situation is unstable?

[Answer] Changes do not constitute the worst scenario in a trader's view. The worst situation exists where life is stagnant and without any changes. Several years ago, when everything was closed and forbidden and the people could not express their opinions and arguments—no one wished to have anything to do with you. The arrival of our mission alone—signifies much hope.

Latvia Drops Clause on Party's Leading Role

LD1101183390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Riga, 11 Jan (TASS)—The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by a majority vote, today removed from the basic law of this Soviet Baltic republic the clause on the leading role of the Communist Party and has opened up through legislation the path to a multiparty political system.

The new edition of the corresponding articles of the basic law of Latvia revokes the privileges granted to the republic's party and other organizations and permits the setting up of various parties and public movements which have not placed as their objective the enforced change or overthrow of the existing state systems or other anticonstitutional aims, said Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, in an interview for republican television.

The new democratic guarantees, in the party leader's opinion, truly enable people's elections of the republican Supreme Soviet, preparation for which has started in these last few days, to be held.

The session will continue its work tomorrow.

Opens Way for Multiparty System

PM1201103990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session in Latvia"]

[Text] Riga, 11 Jan—The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session continued here today after the New Year "vacation." One of the agenda's main points is the changing of certain articles of the republic's Constitution, the new draft of which was adopted on first reading.

Deputies voted by a majority to change the text of Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Latvian SSR Constitution. Thus, the provision on the Communist Party's leading role is removed from the basic law and the way is legally clear to a multiparty political system.

The new draft of the aforesaid articles of Latvia's basic law abolishes political privileges for the republic's party and other organizations and permits the creation of different parties and social movements whose aims do not include plans to forcibly change or overthrow the existing state structure or any other unconstitutional ideas, Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, said in an interview on republic TV. Nor can they act as organs of state power.

These new democratic guarantees, in the party leader's opinion, will make it possible to hold real people's [narodnyy] elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, preparations for which are already under way.

The session also examined other questions. The deputies heard information from the Supreme Soviet Commission on the Further Development of Horticultural Partnerships.

The session continues tomorrow.

Gorbunov Says 'Most Important Decision'

LD1201093190 Riga in Latvian to Europe 1730 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Excerpts] As we have already reported several times, the Latvian parliament, resumed its work at the republic's 14th Supreme Soviet session today.

Today the Supreme Soviet adopted a historical decision by changing the wording of Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Constitution, i.e., revoking the constitutionally fixed monopoly rights of the Communist Party to power. [passage omitted]

After the break the Supreme Soviet discussed the possible corrections to the Constitution in its Articles 6, 7, and 49, i.e., in the articles in which the monopoly rights of the Communist Party in power have been fixed in legal form. At approximately 1515 hours, with 225 deputies voting for and nine against, the law on this correction to the articles of the Latvian SSR Constitution was adopted. The law will come into force 10 days after its publication in the press.

In his concluding speech Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Gorbunov congratulated the deputies and called the adoption of this law the most important decision which the republic's Supreme Soviet had adopted until now. In our republic a new period of democratic development has begun, a legal foundation for forming the multiparty system in Latvia has been provided. Anatoliy Gorbunov, however, regards for a maximum tolerance toward the representatives of other political opinions and forces as an essential precondition for the development of democracy.

Deputy Terekhov, second secretary of the Riga city party committee, proposed for this correction to the Constitution to come into force only after drawing up and adopting a new law on parties and public organizations. In such a way the implementation of the new law would be postponed for a rather indefinite time. Only 41 deputies voted for this proposal and it was not adopted.

This historical decision then, to eliminate the monopoly rights of a single party to power, is the principal result of today's work of the Latvian parliament, the Supreme Soviet session.

TV Report

LD1101221190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session continued its work in Riga today.

[Reporter N. Kasyanova in Riga] A serious debate developed today around the problems of local self-government. This is natural; it is after all a matter affecting the development of towns and villages and the creation of social living conditions that are worthy of man.

Deputies heatedly debated the proposal on altering articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Latvian SSR Constitution.

[Video shows lobby interview with A.E. Kauls, chairman of the Union of Agricultural Workers of Latvia] [Begin Kauls recording] I think that the situation is nevertheless alarming, as the deputies are saying, and it seems that in an extreme case those who realize their responsibility to the people should mobilize themselves, since anarchy will not lead to any progress or any well-being for the people. The open calls for independence and sovereignty are without foundation. None of those concerned can explain what all this will provide for the people. There should, of course, be self-reliance, but all the slogans shold have an economic foundation, and first and foremost answer the question of what this will provide for the people, how much it will improve their well-being, and how it will speed up the solution of social issues. [end recording]

[Kasyanova] A total of 225 deputies voted for amending Article 6 of the constitution—9 against and 20 abstained. The 6th Article of the Basic Law of the Latvian SSR now runs: The Communist Party of Latvia and other parties and public organizations operate in accordance with the procedures laid down in the Latvian SSR constitution and other laws of the republic. Essentially this is recognition of a multi-party situation in Latvia and confirmation of the realities that have come about. Article 49 affirms the right of citizens of the Latvian SSR to come together in parties and other public organizations which do not set the goals of the forcibly changing or the overthrow of the existing state system or other anti-constitutional goals. The membership of a party or other public organization by a citizen of the Latvian SSR will not create any advantages or limitations for his participation in the life of the state.

The 14th session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work tomorrow. [Video shows demonstrators with flags and placards outside the session]

Latvian Party Break With CPSU Seen Unlikely

LD1101150990

[Editorial Report] Riga in Latvian to Europe, at 1730 GMT on 9 January, broadcasts a 5-minute interview with Alfreds Cepanis, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. Cepanis criticizes the timing of Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania, saying that Gorbachev should have gone to Lithuania before the CPSU plenum to prepare for the plenum more thoroughly, rather than convening the plenum in such a hurry. The visit should have occurred "as soon as the Lithuanian Communist Party 29th Congress decided to establish an independent Lithuanian Communist Party," Cepanis states. He then expresses his understanding of the move of the Lithuanian communists to leave the CPSU because the process of democratization of the CPSU envisaged by the decisions of the 19th Party Conference failed to take place. He goes on to say:

"To my mind this is not possible in Latvia because of the ethnic composition of our Communist Party of Latvia. There are 70% Lithuanians or such people who are totally committed to the restructuring in the Communist Party of Lithuania as far as I know. There are not quite 40% Latvians in the Communist Party of Latvia. And, regrettably, the composition of the Communist Partyof Latvia—I do not want to pass a categorical judgement—but I do not believe we could go the same way as the Communist Party of Lithuania."

Riga Human Rights Activist Ends Hunger Strike

LD1101140590 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 8 Jan 90

[by TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 11 TASS—Riga resident Vladimr Bogdanov ended a 41-day hunger strike after receiving assuarances from the Latvian president that his constitutional rights would be protected.

This news was made public after a meeting of the presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet late Wednesday evening. The presidium also heard information from a deputies commission which studied Bogdanov's statement.

The case of the 43-year-old gas-arc welder who was fired from Riga's Energoavtomatika factory in 1985, was repeatedly covered by the national and local press and television.

Bogdanov was fired after being absent from work for over three hours. On the other hand, Bogdanov who has a lawyer's diploma, is sure that he had a legitimate right to leave work to defend a plaintiff at a court hearing.

The order about truancy issued by the factory management was recognised as valid by courts of various levels. Bogdanov disagreed with their judgements, saying that there was no need to receive the management's permission for the implementation of his rights.

He has been unemployed ever since, although he was offered several jobs at the same factory. Bogdanov insists on working at his former job. He also says that he cannot work as a lawyer until he proves his ability to protect himself.

Bogdanov has been helping to protect justice for years in the courts in Latvia and other regions.

He went on a hunger strike last February. He stopped it after a promise that appropriate measures would be taken. He again decided to resort to this form of protest on December 1.

He demands that the Latvian Supreme Court examine a collective petition, which was also signed by him, on making Supreme Court officials responsible for illegal rulings.

The deputies commission informed the presidium that "Vladimir Bogdanov demands, in fact, a public discussion of judgements in those cases indicated in the petition with the participation of interested people, the public as well as the press and television."

In the commission's opinion, laws were not violated, while press publications were biased.

Nevertheless, guided by its proposals, the presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet instructed the republic's procurator to examine the collective petition on the culpability of court officials.

The procurator and the justice minister are also to meet Bogdanov in the presence of journalists and representatives of informal organisations to discuss human rights issues.

Estonian Party Leader on Attitude to Independence

LD1201110990 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The Central Committee of Estonia's Communist Party has been meeting to discuss the situation in that Soviet Baltic Republic. The meeting was called after the neighboring republic of Lithuania formed a Communist Party of its own. Our reporter has been talking to Estonia's Communist leader, Mikk Titma. He began by asking for his assessment of the situation in the republic:

[Begin Titma recording in Estonian with superimposed English translation] Most people in Estonia simply do not believe that the Soviet Union as a whole can make rapid progress. The changes that are taking place are very slow. Estonia by contrast is a small republic ready to make quick advancement. This understanding has all along underpinned Estonia's development concept, but regrettably that concept has never materialized. The central ministries have spared no effort to impede Estonia's progress. More Estonians come to believe that the republic won't solve its key issues so long as it remains part of the Soviet Union. They openly suggest forming an independent state. Nevertheless, the political process in the republic is relatively well-balanced. Extremist forces exist but they don't prevail. [end recording]

Independence from the Soviet Communist Party was not formally on the agenda of the Estonian Central Committee session but it was discussed. How do Estonian Communists view the recent developments in Lithuania?

Mikk Titma said the step taken by the Lithuanians couldn't but affect the work of the Estonian session. The birth of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party, he said, was a normal development. If the Communist Parties in Lithuania, Estonia, or any other Union republic remained territorial branches of the Soviet party they could be accused of being mere arms of central bodies. Independent republican parties are likely to become a reality in the future. However, the Lithuanian way to independence cannot be indiscriminately emulated by the Estonian party. The Estonian Communists believe the republican parties should be independent parts of the national party. Their goal is a sovereign development of their republic and not a split from the Soviet Communist Party.

The speeches delivered at the Central Committee session indicate that the Estonian party is in for major reforms. What are these reforms? Mikk Titma said the Communists must give up their present place at the top to the political system to become a truly democratic party. They will submit to the republican parliament a bill providing for multiparty politics and renunciation of their unshared power. Now, when the elective governing bodies are being given more powers, the party must cut back on the number of its bureaucracy, which has been duplicating the functions of state bodies. The Communist Parties of the three Baltic republics are often regarded as a single force by observers elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Do they really coordinate their activities?

The Estonian Communist Party leader said there was hardly any coordination. Sometimes the leaders of the three parties call each other on the phone, but still the situations in the republics are very different. The developments in the three parties are independent. They only borrow some tactical moves from each other.

That was an interview with the Estonian Communist Party leader, Mikk Titma.

New Estonian Education Minister Appointed

LD1001140690 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Summary] Rein Lok was appointed education minister at today's session of the government. He is so far the youngest Estonian minister, having been born in 1950.

Estonian Rayon First Secretary Resigns; Replaced

LD1001121190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The 6th plenum of the Communist Party [CP] of Estonia's Rakvere Rayon Committee has taken place. The plenum elected (Leonhard Valk-Kruusmann) first secretary of the rayon organization. [passage indistinct] Ott Kool visited the plenum.

[Kool] Participating in the plenum was Enn-Arno Sillari, secretary of the communist party of Estonia Central Committee. What was the mood of the people in the auditorium, in your opinion?

[Sillari] I was left with the impression that people labor under internal tension whcih did not surface today at the plenum, and I perhaps cannot even precisely determine why not. But there was a speech, and this left me with the impression that the people have taken a wait-and-see attitude. The conference is waited for, the congress is waited for, in order to finally determine our own status, the status of the party primary organization, and hence then [the people will decide] if they come along or not. [passage omitted]

I would also add that a certain political fatigue has appeared. At present the political landscape in our republic is not clearly defined. [passage omitted]

In the present situation, I think that the CP of Estonia must proceed from what the Estonian people desire.

[Kool] Toomas Kork, hitherto the leader of the CP of Estonia Rakvere Rayon Committee, is very well known to the public at large. Here the question instantly arises: Why was the secretary replaced today?

[Silari] Toomas Kork provided grounds for this at the plenum, where he said that as he had not been elected to the [local] council and, in that case, he finds that his capacity as first secretary would be for him like ineffectual work. For this reason he also resigned as first secretary while not, of course, withdrawing from either political nor public life.

Estonian People's Front Leader Interviewed

PM1201091290 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Alain Debove dispatch: "Ousting the 'Russian Occupier'"]

[Text] Tallinn—The capital of Estonia is under snow now that the year is turning and night falls at around 1500. Despite the cold—the thermometer is well below minus 15 degrees—the lines outside almost all the dimly lit stores grow longer. Passersby jostle to see what is on the shelves because, from outside, it is absolutely impossible to see anything: The windows are covered in dirt or ice. But in this city of around 500,000 inhabitants, you can find the essential things provided you have a fair amount of patience—bread, milk, butter, cheese, flour, sugar, and charcuterie. There is soap—an item which has been nonexistent in Leningrad for several months! The situation with regard to clothing and ordinary consumer goods is also rather better than elsewhere and is even excellent compared with other republics.

Moreover, for a long time the Soviets had no hesitation in traveling hundreds of km by train and car to do shopping in the Baltic regions from which they brought back clothes, vacuum cleaners, and even medicines! But the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian authorities have put a stop to that "plundering." To buy some articles the client is now required to show his passport. Socialist solidarity has limits....

"Of course, we lack many things, for instance we have been unable to obtain beer for weeks... But what we lack most is democracy!" Uelo Kaevats is one of the leadership members of the Estonian People's Front, the first in the USSR, founded and officially registered in October 1988. "In view of the fact that Gorbachev had opened the door a crack," he said, "we had to create new democratic mechanisms, and group together various movements in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, to counter the forces of stagnation and the single party. We also had to defend our people's aspirations to autonomy, independence, and the end of the occupation." In the view of the Baltic peoples, the occupier or immigrant is of course "the Russian," the Stalinist government which annexed the three republics in 1940 under the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and ended around 20 years of independence (during which democracy was not always the order of the day). In 1944, 95 percent of the Estonian population was Estonian. They now make up no more than 60 percent of the population. In Latvia only 52 percent of the population are now Latvians and Riga is a capital "colonized by the Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians," who are not well liked. Further south, Lithuania is virtually homogeneous, with the proportion of "foreigners" being around 15 percent. This explains its boldness compared with its neighbors and the recent decision by its Communist Party to break with the CPSU despite Moscow's warnings.

It is obvious that Latvia and Estonia have to take more account of this non-Baltic community which was encouraged to settle on their territories, mainly in the fifties and sixties. According to Uelo Kaevats, "most of the Russian-speaking immigrants think that the USSR is an absolutely indivisible and uniform entity." "In short, they believe in the system whereas we no longer believe in it at all. The most daunting enemy is the USSR's colonialist policy."

The Estonian People's Front, which achieved great success in the December local elections, is a vast mosaic of movements which all have independence and sovereignty as their ultimate objective. The disagreements relate to the means of obtaining it. The most radical, like the National Independence Party, would like to move quickly and resort to international law to end the "occupation," and the German-Soviet pact and its secret protocols once and for all. Other more moderate movements advocate the conventional parliamentary method, with a referendum. The more eccentric Royalist Party asked Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf to adopt the Estonians who were Swedish subjects in the 18th century. But this new kingdom would remain a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.... "We know that we are on a knife edge," Uelo Kaevats admitted, "but if Gorbachev really wants to democratize, let us take him at his word: A rule of law state in the USSR presupposes the liberation of the Baltic peoples. However, I personally think that his main concern now is to preserve the empire."

Initially, therefore, hopes are being placed in financial autonomy which came into force on 1 January. According to the Greens, who regard the People's Front as "too soft," "Estonia must regain control of 100 percent of its industries and not just of 10 percent, as it has now, the rest being controlled by Moscow. In the transportation, energy, and telecommunications sectors, we may very well reach commercial agreements with Moscow and the central administration. Ties with the USSR must be fair and no longer of a colonial type.... With a view to independence, we can even envisage the maintenance of Soviet military bases on our territory." According to them the "others" and the "immigrants" do not matter much "because those who have roots in a country must be respected." "The Estonians have existed for 5,000 years!"

Torn between these nationalist demands and the Russian speakers' growing anxiety, the Estonian Communist Party is on the defensive. Divided between "liberals" and "conservatives," it is laboriously trying to opt for conciliation. Article 6 of the Constitution on its leadership role is to be abolished. Even its leadership members think that the party can only survive if it becomes socialist and less communist. "Faced with the wave of romanticism and illusions which are burgeoning on all sides, the Communist Party must be a stabilizing element." It wants to reject all extremism, like the idea put forward by some members of the People's Front to hold a referendum on independence. Only Estonians living there before 1940 and their descendants would be able to vote. However, the Baltic Communists, many of whom have joined the People's Front, seem to be drifting. In Tallinn itself, the Communist Party section contains 70% of Russian speakers.

The same "separatist ideas" and the same "nationalist hysteria," to cite some recent expressions in the Moscow press, is found in Latvia and in Riga, the capital. Within the Communist Party, where discontent had long been expressed in private and reflected in a complete disinterest in politics among young people, pluralist ideas are gaining ground but are encountering resistance. Those who are nostalgic for the past and those who are worried are handing in their cards. The "optimists" think that the Communist Party can encourage democratization. Many think that the Central Committee does not sufficiently strongly defend the ideas of autonomy and independence. Hitherto, the Latvian Communist Party has opted officially "for sovereignty within a renewed Soviet federation." Jiris Goldmanis, deputy chairman of the ideology commission, thinks that in the future "it will be necessary to take account of the historical characteristics of each republic in the USSR and put an end to economic centralization, which is the source of the present ills." "When talking about sovereignty and independence, an attempt has always been made to discredit us by referring to our bourgeois past!"

Goldmanis does not rule out the possibility of the Latvian Communist Party seceding. "But for the time being," he added, "nobody wants to leave, because which of the two parties will keep the printing presses and technical machinery? So, everybody is staying where they are and the status quo is maintained. Things may change at the 1990 congress."

The People's Front in this republic, founded in 1988, is itself much more powerful than the "CPSU branch." It advocates a sovereign state outside the USSR after a referendum. But, according to Janis Dinevics, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party, which has been formed again, "we must take into consideration and respect the rights of minorities (48% in Latvia)." "Indeed, in case of consultation, it is they who will decide.... We can only improve the standard of living in an 'independent' state. However, we will not sever ties with Moscow and all nationalities are beginning to understand that."

The three Baltic republics have started a trial of strength with the "distant" government in Moscow. But so far it must be admitted that they have obtained virtually what they wanted. This is particularly true of financial autonomy which was originally so strongly opposed in the other regions. It is also being said that Mr Gorbachev is ultimately prepared to ratify the severing of ties between the Lithuanian Communist Party and the CPSU, because the Vilnius leadership intends to speed up perestroyka and demonstrate how a local Communist Party can be renewed and become popular again. In view of the different ethnic composition of their republics, the Estonian and Latvian Communists do not at present seem prepared to take this step but contacts with the Lithuanians are being stepped up. Their respective congresses will take place in February and March. "We have 2 months in which to see what happens..., "people in Tallinn and Riga say with a smile. Aside from a few fanatics who are already demanding the formation of an "alternative government" to replace the present "government of occupation," the Baltic regions seem to be progressing skilfully. This, they say, is particularly thanks to high-level lobbying operations in all bodies of the party, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow.

'Anti-Russian' Book by Estonian Described

90UN0577A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Letter by USSR People's Deputies V. Matyukha, A. Demidov, S. Vasilyev, and A. Karaulov, followed by a report on the letter by A. Prisyazhnyy, TASS correspondent: "'As an Experienced Demagogue...'"]

[Text]

Deputies' Letter

Mutual respect—this, in our view, is what every elected people's official should be based on. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. An example can be seen in the well-known unfriendly, even insulting, statements of USSR People's Deputy T. Made, from Estonia, regarding Russia and the Russian people.

About 300 USSR people's deputies from various republics, indignant at Made's position, addressed a request to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for a principled evaluation of the statements made by the Estonian historian in the foreign press. A group of deputies from Estonia apologized for their colleague. It seemed the incident was concluded and the request was not submitted. However, literally a few days ago it became known that a book by Made had been published in Finland. In it he persistently continues his anti-Russian line and presents our Soviet land to foreign readers as nothing short of an evil empire. Does not the mandate of people's deputy sting his conscience?

On behalf of the coordinating council of the Russian Deputies' Club, USSR people's deputies, [signed] V. Matyukha, A. Demidov, S. Vasilyev, A. Karaulov.

A representative of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA went to the TASS correspondents' station in Helsinki and requested more detailed information on just what was the nature of Made's new work, referred to by the people's deputies in their letter.

TASS correspondent's report

Empire at the Crossroads—this is the title of the book by USSR People's Deputy Tiyta Made published here in Finnish by the 'Kiryayukhtyumya' publishing house, reported Arkadiy Prisyazhnyy. The book has 207 pages and is illustrated.

There are seven chapters, whose titles speak for themselves—"What Have They Done With Us?," "They Keep Coming and Coming," "Interethnic Relations and our 'Roommates'," "The Armed Forces—a Favorite Child," "Political Reality and Opportunities."

"They"—it is clear from the text—are the 650,000 "Russians," "speculators," "roommates," living in Estonia who 50 years ago "occupied a neighboring country" which was a "flourishing" and "homogeneous society," where Estonians were not only "friendly proprietors," but "Europeans" as well.

We will not restate the contents of all the chapters which, as is evident from the TASS correspondent's cited excerpts, abound with other "discoveries" of this kind. We will just consider one section, dealing with questions of interethnic relations in the USSR.

As Prisyazhnyy reports, this section notes that along with the economy this is one of the most pressing problems. What thoughts does Made provide on this topic? Those same "maxims" which have been reproduced in our newspaper under the heading "All Russians...Are Suspect," barely touched up for the sake of decency.

From T. Made's Book *Empire at the Crossroads*

"The minor peoples do not wish to merge into a unified 'Homo Soveticus.' They demand their own rights. They are dissatisfied with their 'big brother.'"

"Relations with Russians in Estonia are not very good. This is not true of the entire ethnic grouping, which of course includes outstanding, friendly people with good intentions, ready to come to the aid of Estonians. Basically we are talking about the so-called 'speculators,' as the transformers of the Estonian land have come to be called. You seldom have occasion to meet these people after work hours. All the same, it is true there are some pure-blooded Russians among them."

"Few peace-loving, friendly, liberal, and well-intentioned Russians remain in our time. There are historical reasons for this. I discussed this with a Russian in Moscow. He believes that the mixing of Russian blood during Tatar-Mongol times changed the people of Russia into something entirely different. Tatars and Mongols broke loose into Russian villages, killed little boys, juveniles, and men, slept with Russian women. Then followed a centuries-long mixing of blood, the results of which we now see. Time brought about the development of a new people of Russia, which had lost its primordial traits and acquired new, aggressive ones. These people want to show force, conquer new territories, make everywhere they set foot their home."

"Few purely Russian territories remain. After the revolution, in the opinion of this person in Moscow, these comprised Pskovskaya and Novgorodskaya oblasts, the northern regions, Central Russia proper, and a portion of the lands around Petrograd. But then the Stalinist nationalities policy and circulation of peoples began to be implemented. Again a policy of mixing blood came into effect, which has now reached its peak. It would appear that the Russian people are already accustomed to this a policy.

I have met Russians who are friendly, ready and able to provide aid, to share their last piece of bread. They understand the current internal problems almost the same way we do. They oppose the communist ideology, do not agree with the central government, and are ashamed of the disgraceful state of the Soviet economy. But just begin to talk about the separation of Estonia and the Baltic region from the Soviet Union, or about occupation, about colonization, and the voices change. The empire must not be destroyed, must not be removed piece by piece. This empire was built over centuries, blood was let. What will our descendants think of us if we allow it to be destroyed? Besides, my Moscow daredevil stated, all the Russian tsars expanded Russia and only Gorbachev wants to destroy it. Here the Russian immediately becomes a chauvinist, a proprietor. He cannot imagine anything better than a great, powerful, and unified Russia, a Russia which extends the hand of assistance to the minor peoples. She gives away the last piece of bread so that the peoples joining her feel 'at home.' What are the sources of such a lack of respect? Why are our aspirations so disjointed? I have had conversations on this topic in Canada, England and France, including with Russian and Ukrainian emigrants. Contact was broken as soon as discussion began concerning leaving the Soviet Union, leaving 'Russia' in their words."

Made calls author Valentin Rasputin the chief ideologist of Great Russian chauvinism in the Soviet parliament, providing abundant quotations from his statements before the Congress of People's Deputies.

Then he cites an article on Russians by Estonian writer Arvo Valtona, published in the magazine VIKKER-KAAR (organ of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth League of Estonia and the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Writers' Union, a Tallinn publication) and emphasizes his agreement with it.

"For my part, I would like to add to Valtona's view," Made writes, "that the Russian politician-conqueror, 'rendering assistance' to others, is in a certain sense a masochist. He is pleased when people address him in a loud voice, just saying what comes to mind. A polite, businesslike conversation makes the ordinary Russian yawn. He doesn't like it when people talk with him using facts. A calm, quiet discussion only results in his losing respect for this person, and the matter is ended. He just screams at you, swears up and down, and chucks you out of the room. The end result is nothing. You cannot stand hat in hand in front of a Russian. True, this has been in the Estonian blood since the times of serfdom, but it will not help now in deciding our fate."

"You have to talk with a Russian in the language and manner he understands. Estonians have been studying this for decades, but many are now falling away from it. In dealing with the Russian we must use the entire lexicon of heavy expressions. We must be menacing, make up stories, and pound our fists on the table. That is when he begins to listen to you and show you respect. Russians relate to one another with aggression and ferocity.

"The Russians established their empire by conquering the lands of their neighbors. Aggressive behavior lies deep within Russia's cultural and historical roots, in its music, literature, and national traditions."

Made then cites data from this same magazine (No 5, 1988) concerning the fact that "72% of Estonians look at themselves as Estonians, only 10% as 'Homo Soveticus.' Among people arriving there, the results are exactly the opposite—78 percent consider themselves primarily as Soviet people and 15 percent put their ethnic identity first. In Estonia their views are expressed by Interfront, which is propagating enmity among the peoples of Estonia. The party organs SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and MOLODEZH ESTONII are Interfront helpers. Interfront people are spreading rumors in the Soviet and foreign press. Their efforts are actively supported by Soviet and foreign (especially in Finland) correspondents of TASS and the Novosti Press Agency. The 'Inters' have found a responsive and appreciative audience in neighboring countries. The newspaper EESTI PYAYEVALYEKHT (an emigrant publication—TASS correspondent observation) became interested in them, and so Swedish-Estonian journalists stand side by side with the Interfronters. I would not like to believe they wish Estonia harm—apparently the moving force here is the attraction of sensationalism."

Made concludes his book with thoughts on the political situation in the republic.

"The road to freedom," he writes "is rough and tough. It is impossible under conditions of totalitarianism, but democracy allows us to employ various tactical methods. The chief goal—Estonia must again become independent. Nothing would be better for achieving this aim than a multi-party system and economic necessity. Day by day the positions of Estonians grow stronger, both in Moscow and among the republic's own non-Estonians. The majority of people in Estonia who have migrated desire its complete independence."

"We should not be begging in servile fashion, hat in hand before the master. This will not result in attainment of the stated goal. Opponents of our social formation have no business in Estonia. This must be stated loudly and in Russian. Then it is probable that the 'new thinking' and a recognition of reality will begin functioning."

View of a Finnish Newspaper

In connection with publication of Made's book, the major Finnish newspaper KHELSINGIN SANOMAT published a review extremely critical of the ideas expressed in it and of the author himself. "Made is a populist and demagogue who holds the view that Estonians absolutely must take advantage of Russia's present weakness for the possible attainment of proper far-reaching goals. Made calls those who adhere to another view cowards," the review states.

Made is stirring up anti-Russian ethnic enmity. It is his view that "few peace-loving, friendly, liberal, and well-intentioned Russians remain in our time," the newspaper reports, quoting from the book. "This results from the fact that even in ancient times Russian blood was defiled by mixing with Tatar and Mongol blood. "As an experienced demagogue," KHELSINGIN SANOMAT notes, "Made does not make such disclosures on his own, but cites an anonymous Moscow source in this regard."

It is difficult to understand who Made is trying to please in his striving for confrontation. Isn't this outwardly reserved former diplomat, well educated in Moscow, really a provocateur, as is coming to be understood in circles close to the People's Front of Estonia? Both the People's Front and the "Greens" of Estonia have refused to cooperate with Made. His world view, language, and level of argumentation are such that it would be difficult to expect from his ideas a qualitatively new political and economic culture for Estonia, the review notes towards its conclusion.

Official on Planned Estonian Radio, TV Changes

LD1001093290

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1200 GMT on 3 January broadcasts the 45-minute "Antenna" program. Introducing the "Antenna" program, resident presenter Tiit Sinissaar provides long and offical titles for all his studio guests, but expresses doubt how long these will be valid for, as the future of the Radio and Television Committee involves change. Peeter Sookruus, deputy chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Radio and Television, says that proposals for upcoming changes have been handed over to the Estonian Supreme Soviet. The most important of these is that radio work will start receiving guidance from a Supreme Soviet commission that will be set up specifically for this purpose. "This also will constitute a new stage in the development of our society: Its arrival, in essence, at a multiparty system, with democratic control where there can be no dominant monopoly status under any circumstances. Consequently, even before the forthcoming March elections we will be at a stage in which we will be led and provided with general guidelines by a parliamentary commission that evidently will determine the proportions of the pre-election propaganda, as well."

Another change, according to Sookruus, is the radio becoming independent of the corresponding USSR state committee. Contractual relationships between the two are envisaged for the future.

It is possible, Sookruus says, that some money for funding radio broadcasting will be generated by advertising, even if the bulk of the funding will come from the state budget.

Moving on, Sookruus says: "We will depart from the previous status, which was that of a subdivision of the All-Union Committee for Television and Radio. We will depart from the hierarchical structure of this kind, in which previously—just a few years ago, daily—program policy was dictated to us and other commands also were given to us. One has to admit that recent times have brought about many changes in this area, and that the new leadership of the All-Union Committee for Television and Radio has behaved tolerantly and democratically, and we have enjoyed great freedom of activity. In the future, too, we see our relations in this light: We are naturally interested in seeing that our contacts with All-Union Television and Radio are preserved, that we enter a contractual relationship, and that our proposals in this respect are being worked on, as well."

Estonia Broadcasts Religious Services

90UN0598A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Clergyman at the Microphone"]

[Text] The Estonian Council of Churches was established at the end of September this year, consisting of representatives of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Estonian Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church, and also Baptist, Methodist, and Adventist Churches. The purposes of the new organization are the exchange of information about the life of the various religions active on the territory of the republic, mutual consultations on theological and other questions, joint peace-making activities, help to the needy, and coordination of religious societies' activities in Estonia.

One of the first steps of the new organization was arranging, jointly with the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Gostelradio [government radio and television], for the radio broadcasting of Sunday sermons, which go on the air in the morning when services begin in the churches and are aimed at those who cannot attend church because of health or for other reasons.

Such sermons have already been delivered by Metropolitan Aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod, administrator of the Estonian Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church; a clergyman of the Aleksandr Nevskiy Cathedral, Archpriest Vladimir (Lipskiy); Archbishop Kuno Payula of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the superintendent of the Estonian Methodist Church, Olav Pyarnamets.

Estonian Church Affairs Ministers Interviewed

PM1201091890 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 4 Jan 90 p 11

[Report on interview with Estonian Church Affairs Minister Rein Ristlaan by Osmo Vatanen: "The Atheist Who Became Religion's Foremost Servant"]

[Text] Tallinn—If you mention the name of Rein Ristlaan in Estonia a cloud passes over the faces of some Estonians. When he was ideology secretary in the Communist Party he became everyone's villain because of his hardness. He resigned when glasnost came, and was later appointed church affairs minister [kyrkominister].

The scene at the Council of Estonian Churches is completely unreal. At the long coffee table there sit formal, slightly stiff representatives of Estonian religious foundations, and across from them a big, powerfully built man in an elegant brown suit. He has a large stomach, a square face, a double chin, and a pair of lively, sharp brown eyes.

Rein Ristlaan jokes with and teases the formal gentlemen, holds court with the servants of the church, well aware of his power and authority. A few years ago they were deadly enemies, but no more.

Ristlaan is the son of a surveyor and a factory worker. His career was a rapid rise to the pinnacles of power and he became party boss in Tallinn, and later the right-hand man of the hated, but now toppled party boss, Karl Vayno. Ristlaan followed Moscow's line more strictly than Moscow itself. He supported the policy of Russification and tried to limit influences from outside. That there should be a strictly antireligious policy went without saying.

Now he is minister for church affairs and the churches are very satisfied:

"Ristlaan is effective; he really achieves things for us and he is honest. It is almost as if it is he who heads the Lutheran Church," people say.

This surprising turnabout by the party's former "high priest" is certainly not because the almost 60-year-old communist has become a believer. He dismisses that idea with thunderous laughter:

"I will never become a believer. But who has not changed his views over the last 4 years? Who knows, for that matter, what Gorbachev thought when he was party secretary in Krasnodar a few years ago?" Ristlaan exclaimed, leaning forward across the table and gesticulating.

"What good has come from socialism? As recently as the sixties the difference between Finland and Estonia was not that great, but now we here will soon be starting to live as we did in 1939. Socialism has its good sides, but we have not been given any standard of living worth talking about. The ideal of socialism that everyone should enjoy the fruits of his labor has not been realized.

"For a couple of decades I have worked wholeheartedly in the party for Estonia's people and Estonian culture. I do not blame myself in principle. I remember life before the war, and during the war people died for Stalin. My generation believed in Khrushchev's promises of communism in our time. But all decisions were made in Moscow and I lost my faith as the years passed.

Ristlaan views Christianity as something positive, as an alternative for people:

"There is a moral crisis today; the values of socialism are dead in part, and it is a very good thing that the churches participate in society. People are searching for something to believe in. And now people may do what was once forbidden and what they were deterred from. People did not even dare christen their children and were punished by society if they went to church. Now people no longer hide their faith."

This is why people are going to church, in the view of Ristlaan the atheist. He does not believe for a moment in a religious revival.

"I personally think that 20 percent at most are adherents of the church. A sociological survey here pointed to 13 percent." Then he exclaimed proudly:

"This is the result of our atheist upbringing, which has embraced all the stages of life."

In Estonia religious instruction has begun to return to schools under the name of "cultural history," and around a dozen priests have been taken on as teachers. But Ristlaan said that there is no suggestion of introducing the subject again.

"If you want to reintroduce religious education, you also run the risk of confrontations between atheist and believing parents. We must retain two Leninist principles in the country—the distinction between church and state and between school and church."

Newspaper Claims 'Revival of Christian Feeling'

PM1001124590

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 January 1990 Morning Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "Details and Commentaries" and the headline ""I Baptize You in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost..."" a photograph of a Russian Orthodox priest baptizing a baby in its mother's arms over a font. The photograph is accompanied by the following commentary by V. Malukhin:

"Baptism, Anointing, Communion, Confession, Priesthood, Marriage, Extreme Unction... Seven Orthodox sacraments, and each is like a milestone on the path of a person's spiritual ascent. Today church rites are openly returning to our everyday life. This is visible evidence that the freedom of conscience proclaimed in the constitution but flouted in practice for so long is at last becoming the norm of law and the norm of existence. For you may or may not be a believer, but you cannot chastise a person for his sovereign choice. This is the essence of the church's separation from the state, whatever some militant atheist might think about this.

"The Russian Orthodox Church has entered the second millennium of its history under the sign of a genuine revival of Christian feeling. It seems that there has been nothing like this in Russia since its baptism by the holy apostolic Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich. People are reaching out to churches, seeing them as a source of goodness, mercy, succor, and hope. Religious ceremony is once again being combined with folk tradition. Funeral services, weddings, and baptisms are being performed in great numbers.

"Having been purged of sin and having renounced the image of the original man [Adam], one more person now enters upon a new life. 'I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost...'—this is heard on the eve of the Nativity of Him who in the Sermon on the Mount gave mankind a moral code for all time."

Baltic Representatives Hold Talks in Moscow

LD0901174890 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Government representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia held talks with the Soviet Government in Moscow. These were businesslike talks on the implementation of the law of the Baltic states' economic self-dependence, adopted late last year.

The talks virtually amounted to discussing a draft resolution of the Soviet Council of Ministers on this issue, said the Lithuanian Vice Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene. Hard debates revolved around five main issues, namely take-over of union-subordinated industrial enterprises, banks, budgetary relations, two-way supply system and foreign economic relations.

As might have been expected, each side had its own viewpoint on abstract law items, with the result of sharp controversies. Let's say the Soviet Government gives a very loose interpretation of the article saying that objects of defense, gas and oil pipelines, remain under all-union subordination. Meanwhile, the Baltic states maintain that all this could be confined to very definite objects, say a unit of space research, a special cable line, and the like.

Opinion is also divided as far as two-way supplies were concerned. The center seeks to define our commitments to the union by looking upon its own ones as only depending on supplies to the republics. Compromise was reached on mutually equal exchanges and without any discrimination.

Considerable discrepancy arose when it came to banks. It turned out that some days ago the USSR Council of Ministers hastened to incorporate the savings bank into the state bank system in defiance of the law according to which all republic-based banks except for the state bank remain under republican jurisdiction. We have not even been acquainted with the resolution, said Kazimiera Prunskiene, therefore we shall lodge protest against such governmental moves and raise the issue at a Supreme Soviet session.

The issue of economic ties also took much time and heated debates. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia demand that the output that remains after procurement to the Soviet Union have been made could be disposed at the will of the republics, that is to sell as much as possible to foreign countries, if Moscow desires to keep on limiting foreign sales of certain foodstuffs, timber, and other produce.

The situation is similar with credits. The Soviet Government allows republics to draw only limited foreign credits. Meanwhile, the Baltic representatives catagorically refuse to alter their standpoint, that is, to deal independently with foreign partners. Kazimiera Prunskiene said compromise on this score would hardly be achieved, so this issue will be raised again at the highest level. Great hopes are placed on Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania.

So, in two cases out of five, the talks failed to reach compromise, therefore alternative formulas persist in the draft law. The talks will be proceeded and in case of success, the resolution should be adopted by 1 February. We, the baltic representatives, are united and unswerving while objects of controversies are concrete.

Kiev Official Calls for Ukraine Party Changes

LD1101180290 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2015 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] In one of the previous programs, you heard the views of Leonid Kravchuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Commuist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, on certain aspects of the present-day socio-political process within the republic.

Now we are going to acquaint you with a yet another party official; Ivan Saliy, first secretary of the Podolskiy party raykom in Kiev.

[Begin recording] [Saliy] You know, in society and among rank-and-file communists, an idea of repentance is maturing. It seems to me that in order to confirm the sincerity of our thoughts, we should resort to specific steps. We should tell to the people that not everything has turned out as we would have liked it to; we should expel Stalin and others from the party, separate ourselves from them, and ask for forgiveness from those who were repressed and...

[Unidentified correspondent interrupts] And to ask the people to forgive.

[Saliy] Yes, it is the right time to do this. We must ask for forgiveness. It seems to me as a communist that there were things for which we should ask forgiveness. Even more so since even today, in the restructuring period, there are many misdeeds—you yourself broadcast reports from Chernovtsy, Chernigov, and other regions. In other words, the time has come when the party must say that new matters need new leaders, new figures and new people, and what has to be done is to boldly replace them. We have had the first changes; new people and new names have seemingly arrived. But all of them with the same old habits.

[Correspondent] A renewed society needs a renewed party. How do you see such a new party?

[Saliy] I would like our party to be such that every citizen would be proud of it, that every citizen would feel that there is no life without the party, that it brings benefits, and not only for the upper strata of our apparatus, but for the whole of our society. The main thing is that the party does not exist purely for itself.

[Correspondent] You were nominated for the post of second secretary of the Kiev party gorkom. Why did you refuse to run, for in that case you would have more possibilities to renew the party?

[Saliy] The present composition of the Kiev gorkom and its Bureau have repeatedly declined various proposals of mine, and I think they will continue treating such proposals in this way, mine included. Therefore, I did not think that my work in the organ would be of any use.

[Correspondent] What sort of proposals?

[Saliy] Many proposals were submitted on the style of work in general, and on cadres work in particular. But the main thing is, in my view, to work out a more principled action progam for the gorkom. I think that what is needed from the gorkom is a display of sincerity and for the Bureau to resign en masse or to convene a city party conference and refreshen the style of work and the cadres. In my view, the whole apparatus should resign. In other words, people should see that our words do not differ from deeds. What we are doing most of the time is dispensing recipes to party masses, but as to ourselves, having lost touch with them, we think that we may ignore these instructions.

The political situation in the country is changing so fast that I, for one, do not see any sense in holding the congress of the Ukraine Communist Party after the elections. If we understand the state of society correctly, then the congress should be heald ahead of elections to the Supreme Soviet so that people see that on our part there are sincere intentions, that there is a program and willingness, and that the party has leaders who can be followed and who can produce results. [end recording]

Kravchuk on Ukraine 'Events'

LD1101152690 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Interview with Leonid Kravchuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, by Rostyslav Musiyenko; place, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] A few words on events of the day.

As we have already reported, mass meetings have taken place in Chernigov, whose participants have made demands of a political and social character.

Yesterday and today, Leonid Kravchuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, stayed in the oblast center. He also attended the party aktiv of the city and met with working people of Chernigov.

Our correspondent, Rostyslav Musiyenko, was given an interview by Comrade Kravchuk.

[Begin recording] [Musiyenko] Now we are encountering events in several cities of the republic; in Lvov, Chernovtsy, Kharkov, and to a certain extent, in Zhitomir, and in Chernigov, too, an unusual situation has come about. Do you think that all these situations are of the same character? Or are the events in Chernigov peculiar only to that town?

[Kravchuk] I think the specifics are the same, but the reasons for these political explosions differ. But, the specifics are approximately the same. Chernigov may differ from Lvov or Chernovtsy in some features, but... [changes thought] For example, during my meetings in Chernigov no one raised questions on national symbols, religious problems, or language. Whereas in Lvov, during my visit there, these questions topped the list. Wherever I went, people surrounded me and asked my attitude toward the language, the symbols, and toward the Greek-Catholic Church. These problems are regarded in Lvov as urgent.

However, if we look at the general political spectrum or take a probe from the strata below, then we find (?many similiarities). You know what the present-day political situation is. It is tense because of the election campaign. All this keeps exploding in a sort of bouquet. The bouquet consists of various colors, but it is a bouquet. You wonder what I am trying to say? Well, if we take a sample from this problem, then everything boils down to one thing: resignation, pre-term conferences, pre-term congress, and Article 6. I have already said, and I stress it once again, that what matters is not the essence of the problem, since calling for a conference or congress a month or two ahead of time will not solve anything. All this urge derives from the present-day fashion, from the ultra-fashion, if I may say so. The quasi-restructurers believe that by advancing these slogans they will be seen as advocating progressive positions, although under their slogans no real platforms exist. Yesterday I heard them all and became convinced that no proposals were voiced upon which it would be possible to put a new structure. Just mere slogans.

[Musiyenko] Leonid Mykhaylovych, by now both the Central Committee and party organizations of the republic have acquired a lot of experience in working in such extreme situations. Why hasn't a specific methodology of responding to such situations been worked out until now? Concerning chernigov, we see thatn ot everything was done as it should have been in the first minutes of the incident.

[Kravchuk] You know, I think no methodology is possible in such cases. All sorts of quaint situations may arise. Take the case in Chernigov. Who could foretell that a car would ride along the street carrying a leading comrade, with the trunk stuffed with meats and salamis and other delicacies, that a traffic accident would occur, and an acute situation would develop around it? Nobody. What matters in such cases is the cadres. Their task, beginning with the law enforcement organs, namely with the militiaman on the beat, on up to the obkom secretary, is to master the situation immediately; to prevent those forces which strive to use any situation for their benefit, to make capital—and they know how to use our cadres' lack of skill in analysing things, in orienting themselves, in taking responsiblity for what is going on. For example, yesterday they tried to prevent me from reaching the microphone. But, when I grasped it, it was difficult to wrest it from my hands. [passage omitted]

[Musiyenko] In your view, will the oblast party organization be able, with its available cadres, to adopt urgent measures in order to rectify and master the situation?

[Kravchuk] I believe it has such possibilities. I wouldn't like to level all cadres at all levels. Everything is on the move. The preparation for the congress and the election will place its own emphasis. Not everyone will be elected, I am convinced on this, nor will all of them get to the conference as delegates. A part of the cadres will have to leave their posts since they are not able to restructure themselves, or for other reasons, but the healthy nucleus will remain. [passage omitted on plans to build new hospitals, schools, roads in Chernigov] [end recording]

Protest Against Ukrainian Extremists Cited

PM1101130590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Drozd: "It Should Not Happen Again"]

[Text] Kamen-Kashirskiy (Volyn Oblast), 10 Jan—These lines, signed by over 250 people, cannot be read without emotion. Because their authors are the members of families which have experienced for themselves the crimes of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

We are deeply perturbed, states the letter published in the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAINA, that extremist elements are appearing in the republic which are trying to strike at the heart of our people—the party and socialism. These forces are trying to generate political and social tension under cover of democratization and glasnost and are seeking to whitewash the crimes of Bandera's supporters. But surely we cannot consign to oblivion the memory of the more than 900 innocent fellow countrymen who died in our rayon alone? We shall never forget or forgive it or allow a repetition of what happened. That is why, the participants in the meeting say, addressing the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government, the time has come to elaborate and adopt a law under which nationalist, chauvinist, and extremist organizations should be banned, because impunity is pushing them to new acts of provocation and preventing honest people from living normally.

Further Resettlements Necessary in Chernobyl Wake

PM1201104590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent I. Tikhomirov report: "They Will Move Into New Homes"]

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jan—The inhabitants of a number of population centers in Zhitomir and Kiev Oblasts are to be resettled. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers has adopted this decision in connection with a more precise ascertainment of the ecological state of the territory subjected to radioactive pollution following the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES].

Much has been done in the republic to ensure the normal vital activity of the people who found themselves in the zone affected by harmful factors. Some 92,000 people have been evacuated from a 30-km zone adjacent to the AES.

And yet it has not been possible to ensure safe living conditions everywhere. An additional 3,370 families—more than 5,500 people—have had to be moved. Eighteen multistory apartment blocks and approximately 2,300 individual houses with outbuildings and utilities, 11 schools, 16 kindergartens and creches, and dozens of health care, everyday, and municipal service establishments will be built for them in Zhitomir and Kiev Oblasts. It is necessary, in all, to carry out work to the value of R175 million. An extremely short time is set aside for this—2 years. At the same time practically all the housing and other priority social and consumer projects should be commissioned this year.

Moldavian KGB Chief on Crime Crackdown

LD1001185190 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Kishinev January 10 TASS—A crackdown on organised crime in Soviet Moldavia has already netted nine criminals, a large volume of explosives (about 1.5 tonnes), weapons and jewelry in the operation in Tiraspol alone, the Moldavian KGB chief has said.

Speaking on Tuesday evening in a live TV broadcast, Georgiy Lavranchuk said the republic's KGB and Interior Ministry formed a special council to combat organised crime. The KGB intends to conduct surveillance of groups who try to establish connection with the underworld abroad and to smuggle weapons and narcotics into the Soviet Union.

In another development, the KGB chief reported that frontier regulations are being eased. Frontier guards started removing barbed wire fences on the broder with Romania. They have already been removed on a stretch of 50 kilometers.

From now on there is no need for special passes if residents of border villages enter frontier zone for rest and recreation. On agreement with the Romanian side, there are seven points where regulations for crossing the border have been simplified.

"We are in favour of simplifying the entry into a number of other frontier zones in Moldavia that remain restricted zones. We are in favour of the assistance of diplomatic bodies to the lifting of obstacles to the development of economic, commercial, cultural, sports, people-to-people and other contacts with Romania," Lavranchuk said.

Lavranchuk said that 8,796 people repressed in the 30s, 40s and 50s have been rehabilitated, 1,789 of them posthumously. All those who were repressed on the decision of non-court bodies were rehabilitated.

The KGB also deals with groups of smugglers, currency specualators and embezzlers of state property.

Hundreds of cases of smuggling were prevented last year. Valuables worth nearly two million roubles were confiscated. They included over ten kilograms of pearls costing some 800,000 roubles and Soviet money to a sum of half a million roubles.

Lavranchuk said that some 60 per cent of KGB officers in Moldavia are Moldavians.

Georgians Stage Hunger Strike, Further Protests

NC1101095590 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Leaders and members of Georgian socio-political associations have been staging a hunger strike in Tbilisi in front of government house for the past 3 days. GRUZINFORM correspondent Grigorishvili spoke to one of the participants in the action, Mikhail Mamuchishvili of the National Independence Party, who said:

Our main demand is the restoration of Georgia's independence. In this connection, we want members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to visit the republic so that we can conduct a dialogue with them about the problems lying at the center of public attention. I would also like to add that our demand for the granting of independence to Georgia is not directed against any nation or nationality. On the contrary, we believe that it is precisely under conditions of independence that Georgia, on the basis of its constitution, will be able to guarantee the protection of the dignity and interests of all peoples living here.

Asked if other actions are being contemplated, Mamuchishvili said:

Yes, we also intend to resort to such forms of protest as strikes.

Armenian, Azerbaijani Hostage-Taking Reported

LD1101204190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Report from Azerbaijan by corresondents Islam Kuliyev and Leonid Lazarevich]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted: Lazarevich about spring-like weather today in Baku after 3 days of wintery weather; peope are drinking tea in the streets]

[Kuliyev] The main theme in people's conversations is the confrontation evoked by the interethnic conflict. People are expressing incomprehension and nonacceptance of the decision of the session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet about incorporating Nagorno Karabakh in the composition of that republic and about financing it from the Armenian budget. These decisions are being evaluated as illegal and unconstitutional. One also can hear fairly often more sharp expressions. They also sounded at the protest meetings which took place at the enterprises and simply on the streets. Despite the outward state of well-being, the situation remains tense. Everywhere there are conversations about exchanges of gunfire and about seizures of hostages, and unfortunately these are not rumors.

Here is what the bulletin of the Internal Affairs Ministry of Azerbaijan contains: In two neighboring rayons—Kasum-Izmailovo and Shaumyanovsk rayons—Armenian and Azerbiajanian hostages have been seized, several dozen people altogether. Negotiations are now underway about exchanging them.

[Lazarevich] Unfortunately, the seizure of hostage is not at all a rare happening here. After some time, people return to their homes. But just think how traumatic this is for them, and what pain this means for their near ones, and for all their countrymen. Each such case adds heat to the situation. Every unconsidered action engenders counteractions. And this chain can extend ad infinitum, but it is necessary [as heard] and one has to break it.

[Kuliyev] Today the press has published the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which cancelled the decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. But many are expressing incomprehension at why it has been passed so late. And also today another decision of the country's Supreme Soviet about gross violations of the law on the USSR state frontier on the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has been published. It condemns the illegal actions at the Soviet-Iranian frontier, and it is proposed that immediate actions should be taken to restore order at the frontier.

[Lazarevich] I should say that it is far from the best people who are like fish in water in a tense situation. When the sea is tempestuous, there is much foam and filth on the surface. The same applies here. I saw with pain that one of the cultural circles of the memorial of the 26 Baku commissars was lying toppled on the ground. Only recently such a thing was impossible in Baku. But today it happened.

Hostage Talks Held

AU1101164590 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 11 JAan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 11 (AFP)—Azeri and Armenian nationalists were holding talks Thursday aimed at ending a tit-for-tat hostage drama in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, nationalist sources said in the Armenian capital Yerevan.

Interviewed by telephone, Aleksander Arzumanian [spelling as received] of the Armenian National Movement said Armenian nationalists had freed about 20 Azeri women and children Tuesday, hours after seizing them.

A leader of the same movement, Levon Ter-Petrossian [spelling as received], said Wednesday that Azeri extremists had kidnapped 19 Armenian officials in the town of Shaumyan, near the disputed autonomous region Nagorno-Karabakh.

The mainly Armenian enclave, part of Azerbaijan, has been at the heart of a conflict between the two ethnic groups for the past two years.

Armenians in turn then seized 43 Azeris in the same area, according to Mr Ter-Petrossian. Mr Arzumanian said the two sides were now holding talks in Getashen [spelling as received], an Azeri village near Nagorno-Karabakh. Soviet Interior Ministry troops sent to the region "were not meddling" in the ethnic conflict, he added.

The spokesman said Armenia's parliament would reply in a few days to a declaration Wednesday by the Soviet Union's legislative assembly, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, saying Armenia's moves to incorporate Nagorno-Karabakh were unconstitutional. Armenia's Supreme Soviet voted December 1 to incorporate the enclave into Armenia after direct rule by Moscow over the region was ended in late November following opposition from both Azeris and Armenians. On Tuesday the Armenian assembly went further and gave the green light to a development scheme for the region.

Armenia Uneasy About Araks Bridge, Voskanyan Affair

NC1101172690 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 10 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet resumed its deliberations at the Stepan Shaumyan hall in Yerevan on 9 January. [passage omitted]

At the 10th Extraordinary Session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 17 September, Deputy Ayk Kotandzhyan made public a letter by A. Serobyan, a former detainee, who leveled charges against Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. At the suggestion of Deputy Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and at the demand of G. Voskanyan the session decided to appeal to the USSR Procuracy to investigate the charges and to get an opinion on it.

Vladimir Nazaryan, procurator of the republic, delivered a report on this issue and made public the USSR Procuracy's reply. It said:

The USSR Procuracy has investigated the criminal charges leveled against the former employees, including A.M.Serobyan, of the republic's Procuracy, who committed various crimes including the preparation and distribution of anonymous letters which contained slanderous charges of ostensible crimes against many employees of the party, state, and judiciary bodies and of other organizations and enterprises.

With its 6 December 1981 verdict the judiciary collegium of the criminal department of the Armenian Supreme Court found A.M. Serobyan guilty of accepting bribes, illegal weapon possession, attempted murder, and for preparing and distributing calumnious letters.

The alleged crimes committed by individuals mentioned in the anonymous appeals and the other immoral acts mentioned in the anonymous letters have been investigated in detail during the preliminary investigation and trial.

The court has found that the claims made in the anonymous letters are incompatible with reality. Those letters mention the names of more than 200 people, including G.M. Voskanyan, who allegedly committed a crime by misusing his position [word indistinct].

That anonymous letter has also been closely scrutinized like the others during the preliminary and court investigation. The charges in it against G.M. Voskanyan and others are slanderous.

The criminal court case concerning the accusations made by the convicts has been reviewed twice at the USSR Supreme Court and found to be correct and substantiated.

Therefore, the content of the anonymous appeal found in A.M. Serobyan's letter and published by Deputy A.S. Kotandzhyan has been legally found to be a calumny.

Z. Balayan, USSR people's deputy, read his open letter to M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In it he expressed his uneasiness and anxiety about the construction of a bridge across the Araks River on the Soviet-Turkish border at Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. It could threaten the security of Armenia. Sero Khanzadyan, USSR people's deputy, addressed the session on this issue. [passage omitted]

Armenians Bring Shusha TV Issue to Moscow Meeting

NC1201102290 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Will the Time To Speak the Truth Ever Arrive?—KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH headline"]

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Under this headline KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH publishes Garik Grigoryan's account of meetings which took place at the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in Moscow.

Recounting his meeting with the chairman of the committee, the writer indicates that many unresolved issues were distressing the journalists from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] who had hoped to receive exhaustive replies to their questions. We were impatiently waiting for these meetings for we were especially concerned about the existence of the illegal television station at Shusha. However, we had not expected such a strange and evasive reply to my written inquiry about whether it was possible for a television studio to operate in this country without the knowledge of the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and, if not, then who had given permission for the Shusha station to be set up. Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the committee, replied by saying merely that the center has—ostensibly—assumed a neutral stance on the issue and left the final solution to the the discretion of the local Azerbaijani bodies. You can see where this neutrality leads. This neutrality became the tacit foundation for the ratification of an agreement and, taking advantage of that agreement, the air pirates of Shusha have turned the first program of Central Television into a free arena for their willful and lewd announcements.

Discussing the perfunctory nature of the meeting of the committee, the writer from Stepanakert indicates that [word indistinct] the sharp arrows of criticism were directed in particular against the "Vremya" news program. The view of all was unanimous: "Vremya" has lost all credibility in the eyes of the Soviet people because of its one-sided and tendentious choice of subjects and its admonitory and sermonizing tone.

Reporter Mikhail Leshchinskiy, renowned for his reports on Afghan issues, leveled some very appropriate criticism, the writer continues. According to Leshchinskiy, it is meaningless to dispatch television political commentators on international issues to tense regions of the country for it is impossible to unravel and grasp the roots of a conflict in one brief trip, and incomplete interpretations could cause unlimited harm. He leveled strong criticism against a series of reports by Georgiy Zubkov from the capital of Azerbaijan in which the lack of objectivity, illogical interpretations, and one-sided and a priori analyses were starkly obvious. The results of the power pressure of one side, in this case the Azerbaijanis, were being felt. In conclusion, M. Leshchinskiy proposed sending a group of workers from Central Television to the NKAO for a long-term mission so that they could establish contacts with people and understand their concerns and pains.

After this perfunctory meeting, I could not keep quiet and accosted Georgiy Zubkov and conveyed to him our people's indignation at the interviews he organizes for the "Vremya" newscast. He listened to my indignation with bored indifference and replied that he had no intention of upsetting the information balance between the two peoples. Georgiy Zubkov was unable to reply when asked how he could shed light on the NKAO problem when he does not even for a moment leave the offices of high-ranking officials in Baku. The directives of the upper echelons are of more value to this experienced television reporter than the truth; this is also because he is one of the best and most experienced political commentators on international affairs from the period of lies and hypocrisy.

Could this not be the reason the central news media are trying to resolve the problems of the period of restructuring through a narrow mentality which is the legacy of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation? When will the time to speak the truth finally arrive?

Armenia Amends Article on Enforcement of Laws

NC1201112490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Report by Mavr Danielyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session in Yerevan—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] The Armenian Supreme Soviet has begun its morning sittings by hearing disturbing news for the past 3 days. The delegates were informed on 9 January about the bloody incidents in Stepanakert. Yesterday they heard that the Azeris have taken the leaders of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon hostage. Today the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium briefed the session about the four resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, two of which refer to Armenia and the other two to Azerbaijan. The leadership of the USSR continues to maintain its so-called balanced policy toward the two republics formulated since the start of the Karabakh movement. It has equated the legally adopted decisions of the Armenian parliament and the actions of those who devastated the 164-km-long state border and taken a negative stance toward both. We are no longer surprised by this; since the beginning, when they condemned in every way possible our peaceful meetings and demonstrations but not Sumgait, we have become used to this. Of course, this is past history, but unfortunately history is repeating itself. The incidents are recurring under a new form while the policy remains the same. We are no longer amazed at the misdemeanors of the soldiers in Stepanakert; after all the decisions adopted by the state have a similar intent.

Unlike the previous occasions, the deputies were not surprised when at today's morning session they heard about the the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions. They were prepared for them and knew that no decision favorable to the Armenian people could ever come from above. Therefore, the deputies decided to reply to this political act in kind; that is, they decided to reply with a political act. They proposed amending Article 75 of the Constitution. [passage omitted on interview conducted in Russian with Armenian Deputy Starovoytova criticizing the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions]

At its next sitting, the Armenian Supreme Soviet session announced its decision on amending Article 75 of the Constitution. Here is the (?announcement):

[Unidentified speaker] It is proposed to formulate Article 75 as follows: The laws and sub-legislative acts [yentaorenstrakan akteri] of the USSR and the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] are in force on the territory of the Armenian SSR. However, those laws and sub-legislative acts of the USSR which concern the republic's interests can enter into force on the territory of the Armenian SSR only after they are ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR.

[Danielyan] The decision was endorsed. With this decision in hand, our republic's representative to the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will be able to provide a well-grounded defense of the joint decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and National Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Armenians in Azerbaijan Set Up National Council

NC1201120290 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Despite the fact that the Armenian villages in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen Subrayon and the native residents of these lands and settlements displayed neutrality and restraint throughout the Karabakh developments, the predatory Azeri nationalists were not satisfied until they blockaded them as well. As a consequences of terrorism and armed attacks by brigands, dozens of Armenian villages were depopulated within a few days. All this occurred with the knowledge and tacit approval of the leaders of our federation, who speak in the name of law and the Constitution.

Azat, Kamo, Martunashen, and Getashen villages exhibit a heroic spirit under this exigency. They came together and defended the land where their ancestors have lived for thousands of years.

In order to muster the forces of Getashen Sub-Rayon and to solve general problems, a congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the villages recently convened. The congress, which was attended by more than 300 delegates, decided to set up a 21-man National Council for the Armenian population of Getashen, Martunashen, Azat, and Kamo villages and to recognize it as the sole administrative authority whose decisions are binding on the entire population of the sub-rayon.

'Sharp Debates' Noted at Armenian Supreme Soviet

LD1001174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received a telegram from Yerevan.

The second day of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet session passed in an atmosphere of sharp debates around the situation in Nagorny-Karabakh and the question of the closure of the Nairit scientific-production association, one of the largest chemical enterprises in the republic. Certain amendments to the republic's constitution were also discussed. Deputies' opinions were divided and so it was decided to continue the session on 11 January.

Azeris Said Destroying Armenian Monuments

NC1101110790 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Jan 90

["The Cable by Vazgen I"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] To Yuriy Nikolayevich Khristoradnov, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow:

Esteemed Yuriy Nikolayevich, I consider it my duty to inform you of the recent destruction and desecration of Armenian historical monuments in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

I inform you with deep sorrow that extremist Azeri nationalists set fire to the Armenian Church in Baku on 25 December, destroying valuable ecclesiastical books, holy paintings, and all ecclesiastical clothing.

In the name of the Armenian Church and believers, we protest against this sacrilege and request that you ask the pertinent bodies to take the necessary measures to bring the culprits to account.

With deepest respects.

[Signed] Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenians

Girenko, Nishanov Depart Stepanakert for Moscow

NC1201084190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The republic's organization committee has begun its work. The newspapers report that Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, left Baku for Stepanakert on 9 January. The members of the republic's organization committee and the union monitoring and observation committee accompanied them to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Comrades Girenko and Nishanov left for Moscow on the same day.

Visit Called Failure

NC1101104490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] A letter from Stepanakert entitled "A Provocative Visit" and signed by Yegishe Sarkisyan discusses the visit paid by Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] on 9 January.

The letter underlines that this attempt to revive the stillborn USSR Supreme Soviet decision failed and the unwanted guests were forced to return to Baku. However, the people of Stepanakert again paid a heavy price. New bloodshed occurred when soldiers opened fire on unarmed people. Three Armenian (?demonstrators) were wounded and taken to the oblast hospital.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Sets Up NKAO Committee

NC1101123990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] According to an ARMENPRES report, the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 10 January. During the joint session of the Supreme Soviet and National Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], there was a wide-ranging exchange of views on the developments that have taken place in last few days in the NKAO and the Armenian-inhabited regions in Azerbaijan, namely Getashen village and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The developments have created a dangerous situation for the Armenian population. [passage omitted]

The session decided to establish a committee to be headed by Deputy Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and instructed it to carry out a (?speedy) study of the issues raised and the proposals made at the session and the developments in the NKAO. The committee is to present its findings to the Supreme Soviet to enable the latter to formulate the appropriate measures.

Azerbaijan People's Front Occupies Buildings

LD1101151590 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 11 Jan 90

["Urgent—Lenkoran Government, Law-Enforcement Bodies Blocked"—TASS headline]

[Text] Baku January 11 AZERINFORM-TASS—People's Front representatives in the Azerbaijani city of Lenkoran carried out unlawful, unconstitutional actions to block local government and law-enforcement bodies at 6 am [0200 GMT] today.

The Azerbaijani Council of Ministers resolutely denounced the People's Front's attempt to disorganise work of local bodies of power and complicate the situation in the region.

According to the Azerbaijani government, these actions are contrary to the republican leadership's efforts to strengthen popular unity and consolidate actions with the People's Front and other public movements.

The premeditated actions by the irresponsible individuals are directed at thwarting the political settlement of the Nagorno- Karabakh problem, the government believes.

The Council of Ministers called on Lenkoran residents to display restraint and prudence and not to fall for the provocations.

It stated that, if need be, all necessary measures to normalise the situation will be adopted.

'Malicious' Activities in Lenkoran

NC1101191590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Members of the Popular Front in Lenkoran resorted to illegal and anticonstitutional activities with a view to obstructing the work of the local Soviet and law enforcing organs and seizing the city communications center at 0600 local time on 11 January. They broadcast over the local radio that the work of the local government organs had been halted.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers has categorically condemned the Popular Front's attempt to forcibly disrupt the work of the local government organs and worsen the situation in the region. [passage indistinct]

The malicious activities of irresponsible individuals have come at a time when the process of finding a political solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is being disrupted, and when the republic's organization committee has begun its work in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Council of Ministers urges the people of Lenkoran to exercise self-control, [words indistinct], and refrain from being misled by individuals. The Council of Ministers declared that all necessary measures will be taken to normalize the situation.

Further on Lenkoran Events

NC1101193890 Paris AFP in English 1928 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow Jan 11 (AFP)—Militants from an Azeri "Provision Defence Committee" took over council, police and public prosecutor's offices Thursday in a town in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, a member of the local National Front movement said.

They met no resistance as they occupied the town Soviet (council), the police station and the law offices at Lenkoran, in the south of the Caucasian republic, Issa Kabarov told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone.

The committee, formed Wednesday, was demanding the "restoration of Azerbaijan's sovereignty over Nagorno-Karabakh," said Mr Kabarov referring to the autonomous region populated mainly by Armenians but administered by the Azerbaijan republic.

Violence has flared intermittently over the last two years between Azeris and Armenians who want the region attached to the neighbouring republic of Armenia.

The National Front spokesman said the Azeri nationalists accused the republic's leadership of paralysis and merely following the instructions "of Moscow and not those of the (Azeri) people."

The committee members threatened to seek Azerbaijan's secession from the Soviet Union if their demands were not met, according to Mr Kabarov. He said that some members of his own organisation were among the occupiers, as were members of other informal groups. There was no violence and Soviet troops in the town did not intervene, he added.

Tass earlier issued a report from the region criticising the "blocking of the institutions of justice and the council" in Lenkoran.

Nagorno-Karabakh Remains 'Extremely Tense'

LD1201093690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Those comrades who follow our radio program have probably noticed that our special correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Gennadiy Kolenov are in Baku. Listen to their report on the situation in Azerbaijan transmitted to the editorial office over the wire.

[Unidentified voice] The situation in the republic is changing, literally every hour, every day. Rallies and meetings are being held not just in enterprises - and they have already taken place in the many-thousand strong work collectives of the 26 Baku Commissars Oil and Gas Extraction Directorate, Lenin Neft, Azizbekovneft, the Refrigerator and Bakinskiy Rabochiy Works, and other collectives.

Rallies are also being held on the streets of Baku. These rallies have been brought about by the adoption of a number of decisions by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet aimed at blocking the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of 28 November 1989 on measures to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. [passage omitted]

At the moment, the socio-political situation in Azerbaijan remains extremely tense, and this tension is felt especially acutely in Baku. On 10 January, the National Salvation society organized a march through the city streets. This was followed by an unauthorized rally in front of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee building. I ask myself: Who benefits by arousing passions, who benefits by the bloodshed, and who benefits by fishing in a wave of emotions? It is only dialogue and open discussion, first between both the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians, that will help to settle the problems. And, secondly, the party and government bodies must go out and meet the people at rallies in the enterprises. I think the mass media, too, should here, on the spot, be a mouthpiece, a platform for this dialogue.

Disorders Continue in Transcaucasian Republics

LD1201103490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Commentary by Colonel Anatoliy Grigoryevich Anfetev of the Internal Services]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Alarming reports continue to come in to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs from the Transcaucasian republics. The operational situation there remains complicated, and there are no comforting reports at all from there as yet. Rallies of many thousands of people are being held. Blockades and the blowing up of bridges on the roads leading to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are continuing. Sit-down demonstrations by citizens are being held in

Tbilisi in support of demands to restore order in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, as well as other conflicts. [Passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Situation 'Very Alarming'

LD1101160290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] During the past days we have been following with alarm what has been taking place in Azerbaijan. A group of our correspondents is now working in this republic. I managed to contact one of them, Leonid Lazarevich.

[Begin Lazarevich recording]: Azarbaijan is now going through very difficult days. Passions are heating up with every passing day.

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, which continued its work on 9 January with the participation of representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh National Council, has added fuel to the fire. Very many people here, virtually the entire population, are indignant at the fact that the budget of the Armenian Republic includes a section on financing the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. At very many enterprises in the republic meetings have taken place though it is true, work was not interrupted, and they usually took place during the lunch break. Late in the evening when driving through the streets of the city I saw one more large meeting taking place near the building of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. It is difficult for me to draw conclusions but it seems that what is needed most of all now is deliberation, no haste at all. It is difficult for anyone to imagine that any action will not provoke a counteraction. The decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet could not but provoke a counteraction, and the presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has resolutely condemned this move, which has been termed provocative. It is regarded as undisguised interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

The situation is very alarming at the present in Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast. Reports are reaching us to the effect that exchanges of fire are taking place there. There were instances of hostages being taken. Two bridges, a railway bridge and an ordinary one, have been blown up. [end recording]

Our correspondent transmitted this report from Baku after which he set off for Nagorno-Karabakh, from where we will now await news.

Supreme Soviet Adopts NKAO Resolutions

LD1001191590 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today adopted the following resolutions:

1. On gross violations of the Law on the State Border of the USSR on the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. On the unconstitutionality of the acts on Nagorno-Karabakh adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic on December 1, 1989 and January 9, 1990.

3. On the illegitimacy of several provisions of the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic of December 4, 1989 "on measures to normalise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic."

Newspaper Becomes Organ of NKAO National Council

NC1101134290 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian- and Russian-language newspaper KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH has become the organ of the National Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

In a decision adopted on the matter, the NKAO National Council noted that in view of the absence of constitutional oblast structures such as an oblast party committee and party executive committee and based on the 1 December joint decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the NKAO National Council, the KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH-SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper shall be considered the organ of the NKAO National Council and the necessary changes made to its masthead.

The KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH-SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper first appeared as the organ of the NKAO National Council last Sunday, 7 January.

Nagorno-Karabakh 'Remains Tense'

LD1101143690 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The situation remains tense in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is part of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, and around it. [passage omitted] Here's what Vitaliy Gurov writes:

Indeed, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has reached its climax. Reports come practically every day saying that bridges were blown up there; highways were destroyed and shootings took place in towns and villages. Grenades, explosives and even ground-to-ground missiles were found in one of the trucks that was carrying building materials. [passage omitted]

Is there any way out of the current confrontation? There is no answer to this question so far. No one heeds the voice of reason, drowning the shouts of hated and unreasonable actions. I'd like to add in conclusion, writes Vitaliy Gurov, that the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has proclaimed unvalid [as heard] legislative acts concerning Nagorno-Karabakh passed by the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Nakhichevan Official Cited on Situation

NC1201083690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] As has already been reported, efforts were made to disrupt stability in the Nakhichevan sector of the USSR-Iran border between 31 December and 2 January. What provoked the people to engage in such activities? While replying to questions put to him by a TASS correspondent, Dzhalilov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee, discussed this matter in detail. He concluded: The situation is being controlled by the oblast's party committee and by the republic's government. Every kind of measure is being put into effect to obstruct breaches of law.

Nakhichevan Impact on Iranian Relations Assessed

LD1101151290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 11 Jan 90

[By TASS Political Observer Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—Recent events on the Soviet- Iranian border in the region of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (Transcaucasus) have attracted attention not only in the USSR but abroad, too. The conflict in this region, based on problems connected with border contacts, has been accompanied by outright excesses. This has led to the destabilization of the situation in a large sector of the border between the USSR and Iran and caused concern on both sides.

These events are naturally distressing for the USSR and Iran, whose relations, especially in recent times, have been developing along the path of strengthening good-neighborliness and mutual understanding. Our countries and peoples are striving to imbue their relations with a consistent and dynamic character. It goes without saying that both the USSR and Iran have an interest in this matter, extending not only to relations between states, but also between peoples. But, of course, all this has to be done with full regard for the law and for the system of border contacts agreed to by both sides.

This was discussed in particular during a meeting between Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mahmud Va'ezi, which was held in Moscow. Both sides agreed to continue consultations on the issues touched upon there.

To put it more briefly, the USSR and Iran regard and solve questions of their relations as good neighbours are supposed to do. But there are circles abroad who do not take kindly to the strengthening of Soviet-Iranian good neighborliness. And some people are trying to take advantage of the present border conflict to aggravate the situation caused by the events and to try to create a split in Soviet-Iranian relations. Drawing attention to this unsavoury activity, the Iranian newspaper ETTELA'AT writes that certain circles in the West are trying to "muddy the waters" in relations between Iran and the Soviet Union in their own interests, to distract attention from their own aggressive actions. These attempts are also denounced by other Iranian newspapers.

The TEHRAN TIMES points out that Iran does not intend to use the events on the Soviet-Iranian border for its own interests. Growth of extremist nationalism in present conditions, the newspaper stresses, is not in keeping with the interests of the two peoples, who now have good relations. The Kremlin, the paper points out, can be absolutely sure that the Islamic Republic of Iran will never side with those who uphold the theory that predicts the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

the hopes of those who try to set two neighboring states against one another are vain. Their obviously unsavory design is doomed to failure.

Correspondent Reports From USSR-Iran Border

PM1001163990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 pp 2-3

[Special correspondent Andrey Krayniy report "From the Soviet-Iranian border" under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Ordered Not to Shoot"]

[Text] Nakhichevan-Ordubad-Mindzhivan-Baku—"To the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. To the chief of the border detachment.

"The Board of the Nakhichevan Oblast Division of the Azerbaijan People's Front informs you that on the anniversary of the supression of the November-December all-people's movement in Baku City 4 December 1988 and also to mark the day of solidarity a mass event will be held on the border 4 and 12 December, near the wire entanglement along the Araks River through the whole territory of the Nakhichevan ASSR.

"I. Ibragimov, leader of the General Department of the Nakhichevan Division of the Azerbaijan People's Front."

"The demands of the participants in the 'Living Wall' action held along the entire length of the border with Iran (Southern Azerbaijan) and Turkey 4 December 1989.

"...The participants in the action put the following demands to party, soviet, and state organs:

"—...With a view to ensuring unimpeded meetings of relatives living in Northern (Soviet) and Southern (Iranian) Azerbaijan, as well as in Turkey, and establishing cultural and economic ties along the whole length of the borders, 'Free Meeting Days' are to be organized once a week in population centers.

"—As a consequence of the fact that 17,000 hectares of fertile Nakhichevan ASSR land remain unutilized behind barbed wire, the border is to be moved back, to the Araks River."

"To Colonel V.K. Zhukov, troop unit commander.

"On 30 December Ramiz Yusif Ogly Tagiyev, leader of the Dzhulfa People's Front, telephoned me and asked for a meeting. In the conversation he declared: 'On 31 December we will dismantle the system [of border protection facilities] and perform ablutions on the bank of the Araks.' I said: 'Ramiz, this action is directed against our state, and the border is laid down in an international treaty.' He replied: 'This barbed wire cuts painfully into my heart, and my people want to remove it.' I said that everything must be done in accordance with the law and without anarchy. 'Do you not fear the consequences, Ramiz?' I asked. 'There could be a bloody situation, and you will be unable to control the excited mass of people.' He replied: 'I go with my people, and they want to walk freely on their own land.' I tried to convince him that much had been done in 1989 at their request, particularly with regard to visiting the cemetery, and that the question of fitting out vacation sites on the reservoir is being resolved (both the cemetery and the reservoir were beyond the technical facilties—author's note). He said: 'Much talk but little action. We will decide everything ourselves.'

"To his question 'Will you shoot?' I replied that we would carry out the command's orders.

"On 31 December I telephoned the first secretary of the party rayon committee in Dzhulfa and said that border guards were dismantling the technical structures in the region of Nakhichevan Reservoir with a view to simplifying the inhabitants' access to the vacation zone.

"At 1030 a column of approximately 300-400 residents approached the entrance to the border control post territory. Tagiyev emerged from the crowd and started speaking with Lieutenant Colonel L.G. Kamkamidze. During the conversation I again asked Tagiyev whether he was conscious of his actions. He replied: 'What are you afraid of, chief? We will climb the hill, drink champagne, and come back.' After this the crowd went up to the technical structures, cut the wire, and dashed up the hill and toward the Araks. The rest of the people approached the cemetery and began pulling down the Christian part of the cemetery and lighting bonfires there.

"Lieutenant Colonel N.I. Usachev, chief of the 'Dzhulfa' Border Control Point."

And a few more documents.

"Explanatory note.

"I hereby explain. I, Private Leonid Ivanovich Kobzarenko, was serving 31 December and saw a group of people cutting barbed barriers and digging up posts.... One man called us unprintable names. I also saw crosses being dug up in the cemetery and being smashed....'"

"...When the disturbances began and the border guards formed a corridor to keep back the people who were going through the system in the direction of the Araks River and to make them pass precisely along our corridor, two men appeared near us. When they came alongside us, they turned to us: 'If you were given the rounds, would you shoot us all with such pleasure?' And all the time they wanted us to confirm their words. But our guys said nothing in reply and behaved calmly and with composure. Private 1st Class Stetsko."

"...I, Private Kolontayevskiy, was driving toward the Araks with Warrant Officer Akhmedov to refuel a launch. We were stopped by persons calling themselves representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front, who demanded our passports and passes. They said that border guards had earlier let them through the technical structures, but now there were no border guards and they would now let the border guards through...."

"From the border commissar of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the Jolfa section to the USSR border commissar for the Nakhichevan section.

"Mr Border Commissar!

"As of 4 December 1989 your residents concentrated in the region of the border markers.... They are kindling bonfires, using loudspeakers to make speeches, and shouting abusive slogans in the direction of Iran—which is in total violation of the requirements to observe the border regime between the governments of the USSR and Iran. In this connection I previously made a verbal statement, but you have not yet taken any measures in this regard.

"Therefore I deliver a decisive protest to you and ask you to take appropriate measures to end such actions."

"In an interview with Col V.K. Zhukov, unit commander, recorded by Azerbaijan television for the 'Vremya' program, objective information on the development of events was conveyed. However, the statement was not transmitted in full and so assumed a somewhat distorted nature. Thus, he stated the fact that at the time of the destruction of the technical structures there were no data on the presence of drunks among the local residents, but it was subsequently said that there were instances of liquor being drunk when the bank of the Araks River was reached. The pogrom participants' subsequent actions connected with the excesses on the border, the acts of vandalism, the thefts of communications equipment, and the defilement of state symbols such as border markers convincingly attest that they were in a state of inebriation. The border detachment political department."

...This was the situation that had taken shape by the time we arrived in Nakhichevan. Along practically the whole length of the border in the autonomous republic the system had been destroyed, many border towers burned down, and border markers destroyed. I saw photographs showing local residents not only toppling the supports of the technical structures but also loading the toppled posts into their vehicles. The total damage amounted to approximately R5.5 million. Border guards' families were on the territory of the Nakhichevan Border Detachment, and the children of post chiefs and of deputy commanders for political affairs were running about in the snow (an unexpectedly great deal of it had fallen during these January days), not suspecting what had made them gather together. The border troops command was transferring to the border reserves and reinforcements from other parts of the Transcaucasus. And not just the Transcaucasus—from the entire border. Border guards were coming in by air and overland even from the Far East. In some places threats had already been made to attack posts, and the border detachment command had been obliged to put out a leaflet appeal to the population, which stated that the law grants the right to use weapons and combat hardware if a border post is attacked, for under these conditions an obvious danger threatens the lives of border guards. The leaflet contained an appeal to think better of it, to return to their families, to their homes, and not to orphan their children.

Perhaps the situation was not now as acute as it had been during the first days of January, but it was still tense and dangerously explosive. It is to the border guards' credit that this explosion has not happened and, hopefully, will not happen. The post and detachment chiefs and the officers who had arrived from Baku, Tbilisi, and Moscow had considerable difficulty calming the border soldiers and officers. For something that only yesterday had been unthinkable was being perpetrated before their eyes: The system that they had built with their own hands was being broken up, and the border markers—the state's symbols—were being pulled down. No shots rang out (not even warning shots, into the air). The border guards held back and did not get involved in the conflict. And we are tremendously grateful for this to the guys in green service caps. All the more so as they were essentially doing the work of the local party and state organs, which had virtually ducked out of resolving the problem.

The border with Iran runs along the middle of the Araks. The system—posts with special barbed wire activated on contact—runs in a line here, in some places 20 meters from the border, in others 200 meters.

The unending wall of barbed wire is oppressive. We are probably one of the few countries in the world to have surrounded ourselves with barbed wire. It is also true that there are thousands of hectares of land behind the system. It is not quite correct that it is all unused, there were collective farm [kolkhoz] fields, meadows, and truck gardens behind the system, which people are allowed to work. The fact that the entry system was complex is another matter: In the winter the kolkhoz chairman gave border guards lists of those people who would be working in the summer, they were checked out, and when the time came for agricultural activity, they were admitted on production of passports. Local inhabitants did not bathe or catch fish in the Araks (I doubt that they will do this now since there is treaty with Iran whereby fishing and use of water from the Araks is strictly regulated). It is also true that thousands and millions (figures fluctuate once again) of Azerbaijanis, many of whom have close relatives in our country, live on Iranian territory, in areas bordering on the Union, and vice versa. These people have the right to meet and visit one another, naturally in the legally prescribed manner. But it is not the border guards who resolve these problems!

"A rally was held in Dzhulfa in October, where free access was demanded to the Gulistan cemetery and memorial place," I was told by Colonel Viktor Zhukov, head of the border detachment. "A commission was set up comprising representatives of the local authorities and the border guards. We conducted reconnaissance and said: 'We agree.' There was one condition: The local authorities had to lay a road to carry the system and we would have moved the technical structures there straightaway. But nothing was done!"

It must be said that leaders of Azerbaijan People's Front rayon and municipal branches with whom I spoke regularly cited as an example relations between the GDR, the FRG, and West Berlin. "They've demolished the wall there, so why is a wall of barbed wire still here between one and the same people?" they said. What answer could we give them? That such questions are not settled by rallies, that it is not emotion but reason that is needed? That we cannot ultimately unilaterally create simplified border crossing points, that is a matter to be resolved by both governments—both ours and the Iranian Government?

All that is true, but I cannot rid myself of the idea that the right people are not keeping abreast of events as they are ultimately paid to do.

The newspapers have written about Nakhichevan. But there has also been Ordubad. And after that, as we found out at the border, there was Mindzhivan, a settlement in Zangelanskiy Rayon. Naturally we drove out there.

En route we stopped at a border post commanded by Senior Lieutenant Anatoliy Lappo. There is no system, one post remained on the right flank of the border post, nor is there any control and surveillance zone here, heavy tractors have passed through it, trampling the border guards' many years of work into the ground. We also saw a burned-out, looted searchlight on what had been a "Zil-130" automobile. Even the seats had been ripped out of the vehicle. A great deal has been destroyed, but the border is being guarded, although this is very hard under current conditions. People are literally dead on their feet. There is no system, but there is the border.

...Then it was morning. Etibar Dzhafarov, representative of the republic people's front, and Ali Akhmedov, leader of the Azerbaijan People's Front in Zangelanskiy Rayon, arrived at the Mindzhivan commandant's office. I recorded their dialogue with Colonel Akeksandr Tkachenko.

Dzhafarov: "We came to find a compromise solution. The people want to remove the barbed wire. I can guarantee that there will be no insult or attack on the border guards. We only want to remove a small section of the system to meet the people's demands."

Tkachenko: "We have been posted here to guard the border. Our task is to prevent disturbances. Iran's border commissars have protested and put their troops in a state of increased combat readiness due to events in Nakhichevan."

Dzhafarov: "I can guarantee that no one will cross the border."

Tkachenko: "We do not accept ultimatums. The People's Front is engaged in arbitrary activity."

Dzhafarov: "It is not the People's Front, it is the people."

Tkachenko: "The question of simplifying the procedure for admission beyond the system and for recreation and fishing has been resolved. What you intend to do will exacerbate relations between the USSR and Iran. Resolve the question of removing the barbed wire legally and we ourselves will remove the system."

Akhmedov: "Some 2 years ago we wrote to the government about this, we received no reply, none at all."

Tkachenko: "These questions are now being resolved and will be resolved."

Akhmedov: "Some 2 months ago we couldn't even point to the border and say those are our brothers living there. When events happened in Nakhichevan and Ordubad, you said—everything will be resolved. My people do not consider this wire to be the border, it is a disgrace to the Azerbaijani people. If the people, the Soviet people do not want this wire, will you, a Soviet person, fire on us?"

Tkachenko: "Don't put us in an hopeless position. We act on the basis of the Law on the State Border, on the basis of the USSR Constitution, which no one has abrogated. Try to satisfy your demands—but legally."

A rally took place but few people gathered for it—around 100-150 people, maybe—because the authorities here have succeeded in carrying out explanatory work with the border guards and have urged the people not to succumb to emotions. It was decided not to go to the border but to hold a referendum among the rayon's inhabitants and remove it, if most of them oppose the wire.

Tofik Guseynov, member of the Zangelanskiy Rayon Azerbaijan People's Front Board, told me the following after the rally: "We are resorting to resolute actions to ensure that the problems are solved more rapidly. We advocate a peaceful solution. Let the border troops remove the wire themselves, we will just watch. If they ask us, we will help. We do not have any conflicts with the border guards, we have lived as good neighbors for many years, but the wire is poisoning our lives. As for violators, we will help to catch them. The local population are the best border. No stranger will hide from us."

...We got on the train and were in Ordubad a few hours later. Around 300 people were burning posts, cutting the barbed wire, and rejoicing by the steep embankment below. People came up to me every second and asked me: Do they resemble drunks and drug addicts? I did not see any drunks apart from people drunk with joy. The posts were smoke-blackened. The lofty sky grew dark.

The hearts of many people are embittered and bitterness is a bad counselor. It is hard to tell now what will happen to the system that has been destroyed not only in the Nakhichevan ASSR but also in other rayons. Maybe the posts and barbed wire have fallen forever. But posts that have collapsed arbitrarily, albeit even in righteous anger, are an unreliable foundation for building our common home. But the border.... The border must remain inviolate, like the lives of those who live on and guard the border.

Iranian Delegation Visits Azerbaijan

NC1201090890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] As we reported earlier, Sadykhov, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of foreign affairs, received the members of a delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran which is headed by (Tolu Mas'ul), director general of protocol [as heard] affairs at the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The two sides agreed that concrete measures must be taken to realize the agreements reached between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

A practical exchange of views was held on simplifying the rules concerning the acquaintance of Soviet and Iranian citizens who live in the border region. The two sides noted that they are eager to strengthen economic, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian relations between the Azerbaijan SSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

(?Tolu Mas'ul) and the director of the republic's foreign tourism administration held talks at the Azerbaijan SSR Main Administration for Tourism on the same day. It was agreed that 150 tourists from Azerbaijan and 150 tourists from Iran will exchange visits in April 1990.

Soviet-Iranian Bridge Preservation

LD0901161490 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kyamil Shakhvaliyev:

An agreement between engineers of the Soviet Union and Iran will allow the two countries to preserve the Khudaferinskiy bridge across the border River Araks, an ancient monument of civil architecture.

This stone 11-span structure, across which the caravan route ran in the Middle Ages, appeared close to where the Soviet Union and Iran were building two new hydroschemes. The fate of the bridge caused concern among the public of Azerbaijan, since the bridge, which is a unifiying symbol in the region, could lose its unique architectural image.

Soviet specialists conducted talks with representatives of the Ministry of Power Engineering and the regional joint stock water management organisation of eastern Azerbaijan to discuss preserving the Khudaferinskiy bridge as it looks like today and shifting the dam site upwards along the river flow.

"The Iranian side treated with understanding public opinion in Azerbaijan," Zulfugar Bagirov, who represented the Soviet side at the talks, told TASS. "Although this proposal meant drawing up a virtually new project instead of the existing one, both sides agreed to redesign work to preserve the architectural monument of Azerbaijan".

Turkmen Election Outcome Shows Democratic Basis

PM1101122190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent M. Volkov report under the rubric "Election Results": "The Person Whom the Voters Preferred"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—In Turkmenia elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet and local soviets were held Sunday 7 January.

Altogether around 1.7 million people, constituting more than 93 percent of all those eligible to vote, went to the polls. This makes it possible to say that the republic's population once again and quite vigorously expressed its positive attitude to the renewal processes taking place and to the policy of fully reviving the Leninist concept of people's power.

As expected, the election campaign was complex in terms of both scale and the depth of feeling aroused. The struggle for promotion to the republic's Supreme Soviet was particularly fierce. On average there were three candidates for each seat. Among the elected deputies communists and many workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] workers predominate, and the intelligentsia is also substantially represented. Young people strengthened their position.

A fundamentally new deputy corps has been formed, in which there are many brilliant personalities. For example, A. Snezhko, secretary of the republican trade union council, became a Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputy. Alla Annadurdyyevna has substantial experience in production work—she has worked her way up from foreman to chief engineer in a large plant. She respects and values people's opinions and invariably relies on them. Nopar Bazarova, milkmaid from the "Leningrad" Kolkhoz in Serakhskiy Rayon, was elected to the republic Supreme Soviet in a fierce, uncompromising contest with Abad Rizayeva, deputy chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department. People gave preference to her principled position and her passionate desire to improve the life of her rayon.

Among the people's representatives are M. Aymedova, USSR people's artist; V. Gubanov, director of the Krasnovodsk oil refinery; N. Ashirov, first secretary of the Tedzhenskiy Rayon party committee; and P. Tanrykuliyev, professor of medicine.

So we can confidently say that the elections took place on a genuinely democratic basis. The voters knew those whom they had nominated and for whom they voted. No one was able to mislead them with empty promises. And then, if the voters in their okrug this time preferred a worker, engineer, or scholar as leader—is this really necessarily bad for the union? People believed in the platform of actions put forward by the Turkmen Communist Party and demonstrated their willingness to participate most vigorously in its implementation.

The election results still have to be analyzed in depth, and the failures and the mistakes made have to be identified. Thus, some weaknesses were identified in the organization of political work at people's places of residence. Some defects are connected with a lack of ability on the part of some party organizations and communists to assess the real situation effectively and to hold keen and open discussions.

Trial Begins of Former Uzbek Party Secretary

LD0901161190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The trial has begun today in the USSR Supreme Court in the case of the former chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Aytmuratov. He is accused of receiving bribes to the sum of R80,500. In the list of bribe-givers who have been sentenced are secretaries of rayon party committees, directors of state farms, chairmen of kolkhozes, leaders of ministries and departments in the autonomous republic.

Kazakh Election Provisions Provoke Objections

*PM1201105390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by own correspondents V. Ardayev, E. Matskevich, and V. Mirolevich under the "The Election Campaign Is Under Way" rubric: "Election Lessons in Kazakhstan"]

[Excerpts] Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—Nomination of candidates for the new type of republic parliament started in Kazakhstan on 25 December. There are 360 seats to be distributed, one-fourth of which are being contested by representatives of public organizations. The new body of deputies will form the republic's Supreme Soviet. The holding of congresses is not, however, envisaged under Kazakh SSR legislation.

From everywhere reports are coming in of nominations in full swing. The following have been nominated as candidates: in Aktyubinsk Zh. Dangauzer, leader of a team of construction workers, and T. Baybulov, stockraiser on a state farm [sovkhoz]; in Kzyl-Orda A. Upolkhodzheyev, fitter at a railroad depot; Zh. Akhmetov, director of a sovkhoz; and S. Shaukhmanov, secretary of the oblast party committee [obkom]. In Uralsk workers of the Plant Named for Petrovskiy are agitating on behalf of M. Ishayev, a mold operator... The list is growing daily. [passage omitted]

Thus the republic's election campaign continues. The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, where republic candidate people's deputies from the party were also nominated, has been one of the most notable events of the campaign. There two lists of candidates were scrutinized: The first contained 73 names, the second, which was proposed by the Central Committee Bureau, only 26. The Central Committee members voted for the shortened list. Nevertheless, the Communist Party quota is 18 seats, which means that here too a contest is in the offing.

Incidentally, far from everyone in the republic regards the system of elections from public organizations legalized in Kazakhstan unambigously. Scientific personnel at some Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences institutes are expressing their disagreement with the secret election of deputies from the academy as proposed by its presidium. The system whereby the franchise will depend on post and academic title may be convenient for an administrative-command system but is scarcely compatible with the new tasks which society has to tackle today.

The nomination of Kazakh SSR candidate people's deputies will be completed by the end of January. It will take another month for the final results of their registration to become known. There is time and opportunity to assess the results of what has already been done in a sober and well-considered way in order to prevent any repetition of mistakes.

Kazakh Oblasts Elect New Officials

*LD1101180890 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh
0005 GMT 10 Jan 90*

[Text] The first sessions of newly elected oblast soviets of people's deputies were held yesterday in Kzyl-Orda and Ust-Kamenogorsk. It examined organizational matters. Shalkhamanov was elected chairman of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Soviet, and Kayrullayev as deputy chairman. Brynkin was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee. Nurtaza Ibrayip and Asylbek Ibrayip were elected first deputy chairmen of the Oblast Executive Committee. Aysina Suerdlov and Shapshanov were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session of Ust-Kamenorsk elected Tutevol chairman of the Oblast Soviet, and Nukeshev as deputy chairman. Saryn was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee and Gava and Yekovina first deputy chairmen. Alelechkina, Duysenov, Tatayev, Tselenkov were confirmed as deputy chairmen.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Commission Meets

*90US0345A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 p 3*

[KAZAKH TELEGRAPH AGENCY report: "In the Commissions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A meeting of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission on Questions of National and International Relations reviewed the situation regarding the use in the republic of historical-geographical names and their application to administrative-territorial entities, population centers, and to streets, and the regulation on the transcription of the designations of state establishments, first names, and last names. Also discussed was the progress in implementing the decree of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet on the study of the German language as a native language, the work of the republic's Ministry of People's Education to ensure the constitutional rights of citizens living outside the borders of their own state-territorial entities or those who do not have such entities to teach children their native language.

It was noted that many names of cities and hamlets were featureless, standardized, cut off from the history of the kray and the people, and frequently senselessly duplicated and even erroneous.

A large number of national placenames in the Russian language are translated inaccurately, with distortions of the sense of the word. Distortions of first names and last names are permitted in drawing up documents because of a lack of dictionaries and reference books. During the discussions the deputies, scholars, writers, and representatives of the public expressed various points of view. But they were all united on one thing: It is necessary to be very circumspect in correcting the omissions that were mentioned. To do this, it would be advisable to create a competent commission on naming in the republic, which would approach the question of changes in names in each specific case, taking into account all of the historical, demographic, social, political, and economic circumstances. The Permanent Commission has formulated recommendations concerning the activation of work of appropriate commissions of the soviets and the creation of a "Red Book" of historical placenames, a "Great Academic Dictionary of Physico-Geographic Names," and other publications.

Speaking about the study of native languages by representatives of nationalities living outside the boundaries of their national-territorial entities or those who do not have such entities, the speakers noted that in this respect the Ministry of People's Education, together with the soviets of people's deputies, has accomplished specific work. There are more suitable schools and groups, and the number of students studying native languages has increased. The study of Greek and the Crimean-Tatar languages has been introduced for the first time, and positive changes have occurred in the organization of the study of the German language as a native language. The training of suitable teachers is expanding. But at the same time there is a lag in providing schools with the necessary literature and textbooks.

The commission proposed to the Ministry of People's Education, the State Committee for Printing, and the soviets of people's deputies that work to create the necessary conditions for teaching children their native language be intensified.

Kazakh Amity Group Chairman Elected

LD0901173390 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] A meeting of the board of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was held today. Amirkhanova was elected chairman of the Presidium of the society, after having worked as deputy chairman of the Alma-Ata City Executive Committee. Taking part in the meeting were Omirbayeva, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and Dzholdasbekov, head of the Ideological Department of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.

Commission To Investigate Kazan Rail Accident

LD0901204190 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Kazan, Volga Region, January 9 TASS—A rail tanker carrying fuel oil and liquified gas caught fire early this morning near the 817th-kilometer mark of the Gorkiy Railway.

At 0400, the engine-driver noticed that one of the tanks was beginning to derail and quickly stopped the train. However, a passenger train, going in the opposite direction from Novosibirsk to Moscow, hit the tanker. Fuel oil poured out from the tanker and caught fire. Firemen from Kazan and nearby settlements quickly extinguished the blaze.

At 1025, railway traffic was restored. There were no casualties.

A commission is now investigating the causes of the accident.

Bashkir, Tatar Newspapers Published

LD0101174990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Summary] Two new newspapers, NATIVE REGION in Bashkir and FRIENDSHIP in Tatar, have been published in Chelyabinsk Oblast. These are special editions of the CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY newspaper, organized at the request of representatives of the Bashkir and Tatar nationalities, of whom there are over 500,000 in the oblast.

Officer Hostage Exchanged for Detained Armenian

PM1101145990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Colonel V. Gavrilenko report: "Stepanakert: "Alarming January Days"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 9 Jan—Readers are already aware of the 2 January incident when a truck was set on fire on one of Stepanakert's streets. Students at the militia school, who were accompanying it, were forced to shoot back....

Since then, bitter events have come thick and fast. A road bridge in the Askeran area was blown up. The Stepanakert bus station was bombed. Two railroad bridge supports were blown up. It is again open season for hostage-taking. I emphasize the word "again": This has happened before as well. But the latest act differed from previous cases: The hostage was a Soviet Army officer.

That evening Lieutenant F. Azizov was coming back from the post office after calling his relatives. He was waylaid by a group of Armenian youths: "Azerbaijani, are you?" Other soldiers who ran up chased away the curious kids, and the lieutenant returned home. A short time later he was called outside by persons unknown, who suggested he come with them. "It's not far, about 15 minutes," they said to persuade him. "Don't be afraid, you're an officer!"

His comrades advised him not to go, but the lieutenant was clearly unimpressed: "I'm an officer, I promised!" He was wrong to place his trust in these people. He was wrong to show the best side of his character—he did not return home that evening. There was a phone call to the commandant's office. "Your lieutenant is being held hostage. He will only be released in exchange for E. Amirdzhanyan, who is being held in custody...."

Colonel V. Salimullin, from whom I learned this story, told me the suffering and worry that the disappearance of Lt F. Azizov had caused in the unit. The officers and their families in the Stepanakert Garrison had plenty of worries already. They are concerned for their children who go to the city's schools. Particularly for the young children, who have nowhere to go: The city kindergartens and creches will not take them, and they have none of their own. The life of the wives of the officers and warrant officers is difficult—the overwhelming majority of them do not have jobs, and of course, this brings no extra income into the family. The officers also talked about pay, and quoted the example of officers with the Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops. They receive extra payments for the conditions under which they are serving. Not all families in the area have housing. Several houses were recently built alongside the unit, but the city authorities are not allocating any nearby land for more housing units. Mothers with children are starting to go back to their parents. That is the reality of officers' lives in Stepanakert at present. And now a new reality has been added—the taking of hostages.

Lt F. Azizov was nonetheless exchanged for the previously arrested E. Amirdzhanyan. Incidentally, why had he been arrested? For stockpiling munitions and supplying them to an extremist group which had taken part in illegal actions.

The lieutenant has been freed. He will now be transferred to another military unit. For a few days Azizov had been in the hands of informals from the "Artsakh" organization. The informals achieved their aim. With absolute impunity. Won't this encourage them to make new attempts to seize hostages? Won't the officers of the garrison again be targets for an attack? And are the consequences of such actions entirely predictable?

The "Vremya" program has reported a deterioration in the situation in Stepanakert. I have already recounted the background to these reports. Today there has been a further deterioration. It has been an alarming day....

Mobs of people have been out on the streets of Stepanakert since morning. A general strike has been called in the city. Thousands of citizens have gathered in the central square.

Yeltsin on Nominations for RSFSR Supreme Soviet

LD1001132190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has announced that he has been nominated for the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet in many constituences of Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities. He said that if he agreed to stand, it would be with the aim of becoming president of the Russian Federation. He favors direct elections for a limited period, no more than two terms, the second depending on the results of the first.

In an interview with the weekly, MOSCOW NEWS, Yeltsin touched on acute problems of public life. He noted the growing opposition to perestroyka on a part of conservative forces. He feels that the Communist Party has lost the initiative and is lagging behind the mass movements, the dynamic processes in society. The platform prepared by the Communist Party for its 28th congress will show how far it is prepared for a radical renewal, declared Boris Yeltsin.

Elections Official on RSFSR Voting Procedures

90UN0621A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, 6-12 Jan 90 p 2

[Report on interview with M. Kukushkin, doctor of legal sciences, professor, and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Central Election Commission, by V. Voronetskiy: "So That the Law May Be Observed"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Voronetskiy] Mikhail Ivanovich, the present elections to the republic and local organs of power are, as is known, being held in accordance with the new law on elections. What are the special features of this law?

[Kukushkin] There are many. Let me discuss the main features. First, it is extremely important that a new highest organ of state power be formed in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]—the Congress of People's Deputies. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet will be formed from among the entire corps of deputies. In turn, the Supreme Soviet will be made up of two chambers—the Council of the Republic and the Council of Nationalities. You understand that this feature now defines the basic difference between the upcoming elections and previous elections.

Second, in this present campaign there will be no okrug voters' meetings, which have resulted in numerous criticisms during the course of the election of USSR people's deputies.

Third, the new RSFSR election law makes no provision for the election of republic people's deputies from the public organizations. The rights of these organizations have been made the same as those of the labor collectives and voters at their places of residence.

Fourth, for the first time it is possible for the collectives of secondary specialized education establishments and VUZ's to nominate their own candidates.

There are also other changes and clarifications in the new election law, and as a result it has become more democratic and precise and reflects more fully the interests of the republic's voters.

[Voronetskiy] And what is the scale of the work that has been initiated?

[Kukushkin] Russia is enormous. There are almost 150 million people on its territory, the representatives of more than 100 nationalities. The RSFSR includes 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous oblasts, 10 autonomous okrugs, 6 krays, and 49 oblasts. Hence the scale of things. We are obliged to give due consideration to all of this diversity in our work.

A total of 1,068 people's deputies will be elected to the Congress, or 93 more than in the present Supreme Soviet. Because of this the structure of the electoral okrugs has been changed. Whereas previously there were 975,900 territorial okrugs and 168 national okrugs have now been formed, and about half of the latter are in autonomous territories.

[Voronetskiy] And what about the composition of the Central Election Committee.

[Kukushkin] There are 25 commission members working on a public basis, a chairman, two deputy chairmen, and a secretary. It has its own apparatus made up of 67 people. The Central Election Commission under the new law will now be in permanent session. However, during the period between election campaigns its apparatus will be considerably reduced.

[Voronetskiy] The important stages of forming the electoral okrugs and their commissions and the nomination of candidates for the posts of deputies have already been concluded in the election campaign. What is your opinion on how they took place?

[Kukushkin] I think that the work was more organized and productive than during the previous elections. This was helped, in particular, by the fact that lessons had been learned from past mistakes and omissions. Also of some importance was the fact that many comrades who have gained the necessary experience are working in the commissions. All labor collectives and organizations were given an opportunity to nominate their own candidates for the posts of deputy, and there were fewer obstacles here. The meetings at places of residence were better organized and conducted.

But there were also shortcomings. In some okrugs, for example, the nomination of candidates was not done on schedule. The fact that not everything proceeded smoothly can be seen from the submissions made by citizens to the Central Election Commission. Their questions were connected with guaranteeing compliance with the general provisions of the law on elections and the requirements of the law on procedure for the nomination of candidates and their registration, and guarantees for their activity. There were conflict situations resulting from lack of the necessary quorums at meetings to nominate candidates. There were cases of the nomination for territorial okrugs of people who do not live or work on the territory of the oblast, kray, or autonomous republic, which is forbidden by law. The okrug election commissions often showed inflexibility and a formal approach, which naturally resulted in indignation and complaints from voters. This applied in particular to meetings at places of residence.

About 1,000 such submissions were made, and the Central Election Commission responded to all of them on an immediate basis.

[Voronetskiy] Were many candidates nominated?

[Kukushkin] Mainly several candidates for each mandate. But unfortunately there are also okrugs where only one candidate will be up for election. The law does not prohibit this but it is not the best way. Judging from our experience, those kinds of "elections" can end badly for those who tried to make it thus.

[Voronetskiy] In the last election campaign there were many instances of candidates for the posts of deputy and their "teams" being placed under unequal conditions in terms of their activity. What steps are provided to eliminate this inequality?

[Kukushkin] Guarantees for the activity of candidates for the posts of RSFSR people's deputy are provided for in a special section of the law on elections. Here it is laid down that from the moment of their nomination candidates for the post of people's deputy are deemed to be taking part in the election campaign on an equal footing. In order to to prevent any of the contenders for the post of deputy from feeling infringed upon, all spending connected with the preparations for and holding of the elections takes place only through the state. During the election period each candidate will be allocated R520. Financial or material support for candidates by enterprises, establishments, individual citizens, or cooperatives is not permitted.

[Voronetskiy] What steps are provided for in the event of violation of the election law?

[Kukushkin] Persons who prevent by force, deception, threat, or other means the free exercise of the right to elect and to be elected, to conduct preliminary agitation, or publishes or by any other means disseminates false information about candidates, or permits other violations, are criminally liable. Statements concerning such cases made to the election commissions or state or public organs during the period of preparation for the elections or after them must be reviewed within five days, and statements made on the eve of the elections or on election day must be considered immediately.

[Voronetskiy] What is the present procedure for the registration of candidates?

[Kukushkin] Basically the same as before. However, this operation will now be more complicated, because 10 or even 15 candidates may be nominated. But practice shows that some of the candidates are nominated for two or three okrugs and they wait until the last moment and conjecture which okrug will register them. This creates organizational difficulties.

The new legislation provides that if a candidate is registered in one okrug and suddenly decides to withdraw his nomination then no other okrug can register him. In the past there was no such standard.

[Voronetskiy] The opinion is being expressed that all gatherings and meetings with candidates should be organized by the election commission, that without it the candidate cannot take a step.

[Kukushkin] I disagree with these ideas. Under the law, the election campaign is organized only by the meeting. But the meetings, in whatever form, are a matter for the candidate himself. He can have as many meetings as he wants.

Male Intelligentsia Will Dominate Elections

PM1101103190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p1

[Report by own correspondent G. Alimov, including remarks by V. Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, People's Deputies, under the heading "The Russian Parliament: Seven Candidates for One Seat"]

[Text] The number of women represented is lower than ever before, the number of workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] workers represented is smaller than ever before, and finally, the number of young people represented is paradoxically low: These are the initial statistics based on the results of the nomination of candidates for seats in the Russian parliament. However, the competition is tougher than ever before: There are seven contenders for each seat. Party members are in a convincing majority: 84.9%.

Commenting on these figures, V. Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) People's Deputies, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent that these statistics will be published in more detail but that, as a whole, they make it possible to draw a general picture.

"Of course," he said, "we would like the strata of the population mentioned above to be more substantially represented among the Russian deputies, as this would reflect their position in society; but the voters know best."

So, the statistical picture taking shape in the approach to the 4 March elections looks like this: A total of 6,607 candidates have been nominated in 900 territorial electoral okrugs and 1,647 have been nominated in 168 national-territorial okrugs. This means a total of 8,254 candidates nominated in 1,068 okrugs, which gives us the figure of 7.7 candidates, to be scrupulously accurate, competing for each seat.

Why are women keeping such a low profile? Whereas in previous elections the proportion of women among candidates for deputy has amounted on average to more than 30%, this time they only account for 7.2%.

"We have tried to study the situation at the Central Electoral Commission," V. Kazakov remarked. "Members of the commission have visited a number of autonomous republics and oblasts and attended meetings. What did they learn? On the whole, enough women are nominated. There is no discrimination. But many of them refuse to accept nomination. They are evidently discouraged by the exhausting election marathon. In addition, there is the experience of past all-union elections when, on occasion, questions put to the fair sex and behavior toward them have been far from gentlemanly. If more women are rejected in the elections themselves, we run the risk of having a totally male Russian parliament. That is undesirable, of course."

Why are there few workers and kolkhoz workers? This has happened despite the fact that, in the main, the nomination of candidates has been done through labor collectives: in organizations, at enterprises.... The overwhelming majority of candidates—76%, in fact—have been nominated in this way, yet only 8.7% of them are workers and 3% kolkhoz members. So, whom have the labor collectives nominated? The leaders of various subdivisions, specialists, journalists, and members of law enforcement bodies. I should point out that the selection process in the collectives has been very thorough. Chance elements have been reduced to a minimum. As a rule, several candidates have been proposed at the start and then two or three have been selected from this number. Only after people really get to know these candidates has just one been left.

And where are the young people? It is surprising, but the fact is that only 1.5% of Komsomol members and less than 3% of people under 30 years of age will be taking part in the election contests. In the opinion of the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Komsomol and youth organizations are clearly unprepared for the election campaign.

Moscow TV Shows Yakovlev Meeting Ryzhkov

LD1001212690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2050 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Soviet delegation, headed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, returned to Mosocw. [video shows Ryzhkov descending from aircraft and met by Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member; they leave the airport tarmac together, with other officials following behind]

Kishinev Funeral Becomes Protest Demonstration

LD1001130490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Kishinev—On 8 January the funeral of 18-year-old (Ruslan Voyendil) took place in Kishinev. He perished in uncertain circumstances. During the last several days the situation in Kishinev has been tense. Numerous fights take place between the Moldavian-and Russian-speaking youths.

The funeral procession on January turned into a protest demonstration of about 10,000 people. Slogans such as "down with Colonialism," "Occupants Out," and "down with the Communist Party" were raised.

The demonstration was concluded by a meeting in Victory Square where demands to investigate the circumstances of the youth's death were raised. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, took part in the meeting.

Vorotnikov Visits Voronezh Tire Plant

LD0901230590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2049 GMT 9 Jan 90

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Vorotnikov is in Voronezh. He visited the tire plant, a state farm in the oblast, and the city university. Vitaliy Ivanovich spoke to our correspondent today.

[Begin Vorotnikov recording] We believe that the Russian Federation, like any sovereign republic or sovereign state, has the rights and the opportunities to extend its independence, its legal sovereignty, and its economic potential. That is why, quite often, Russia and the Soviet Union have been linked as, so to speak, one and the same, although Russia is a separate integrai part of the Soviet Union. [end recording] [video shows Vorotnikov talking with officials in a building, and again in a street]

Pugo Visits Arkhangelsk Oblast 8 Jan

LD0901183790 Arkhangelsk Maritime Press Service in Russian 1120 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, arrived in Arkhangelsk oblast yesterday. Comrade Pugo was met at Talagi Airport by Yu.A. Guskov, first secretary of the Arkhangelsk Oblast Party Committee, and B.M. Tretyakov, chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee.

On the first day of his trip to Arkhangelsk Oblast, B.K. Pugo visited the town of Severodvinsk. He visited the Northern Machine-Building Enterprise Production Association.

Razumovskiy, Others Speak at Moscow University

LD1001040190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The All-Union Seminar and Conference of Secretaries of the Party Organizations of Institutions of Higher Education started at Moscow State University on 9 January. Comrades Razumovskiy, Yagodin, and Prokofyev spoke at the seminar.

Interfront Leader on Comments on Independence

PM1201113890 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Jan 90 p 4

[Alain Debove dispatch: "The Russian Speakers' Anger"]

[Text] Tallinn—"That is the limit: They get a dead man to vote! A voter who died 5 years ago telephoned the electoral commission and asked for a ballot box to be brought to the house so that he could do his duty...." This case, which occurred in the first round of the local elections in Latvia in early December, was recounted to us by Anatoliy Alekseyev, one of the leaders of the International Front (Interfront), the organization which defends the interests of the Russian-speaking minority. He said that all the electoral laws have been violated, that the lists were rigged, and that forged voting slips abounded. In a district of Riga, however, it had the election invalidated! "People talk of democratization, but that is just talk because these are the same practices that were used under Stalin and Brezhnev, we will soon have to put up walls to protect the laws!"

Alekseyev arrived in Riga in 1935, when he was 5 years old. He now remarks that the Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainian immigrants (officially brought in to supply the necessary labor for the extensive industrialization plans) are the victims of discrimination at all levels—at school, at university, in the cultural sphere, and at work. The government only governs "for part of the population—the Latvians.... They decided that Christmas, 25 December, will henceforth be a state holiday. But the 48% of Orthodox Christians in the republic celebrate Christmas on 7 January and they have to work that day!" In his view, independence is bound to lead to disaster: "Just think what we could sell abroad: trees, sand, mud? We produce less meat than before and they want to export it to the EEC, which already has a surplus. It is ridiculous; about 100 hotheaded artists cannot decide to take Latvia out of the Soviet Union!"

The same is being said in Estonia. Out of a population of around 1.5 million inhabitants, 900,000 are Estonians and 600,000 are immigrants (of which 26% are Russian). The local Interfront notes that the least skilled jobs are reserved for the Russians. Aside from the "strategic" enterprises (the nuclear and arms industries) of course, where they are in a very large majority, perhaps for security reasons.... It is impossible to find work in the administration if you do not speak Estonian, Aleksandr Tarazykin explained. There are 12 Estonian theaters and only 1 Russian theater. "They are chauvinists and nationalists," another said. "This is not democratization, it is apartheid. In the trams, you must not draw attention to yourself. Otherwise you risk being called a 'Russian dog!'" In Estonia, Interfront withdrew 37 of its candidates from the local elections. "Strangely enough," Sergey Pasko, a Ukrainian, remarked, "in our constituency you needed 60,000 votes to be elected. In the other districts, with an Estonian majority, you needed between 25,000 and 30,000. That is unacceptable." Although relations between natives and immigrants are sometimes tense, they never take the form of fights or battles. People keep themselves to themselves.

Afanasyev on Demise of Soviet Socialism

PM1101163790 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 3 Jan 90 p 12

[Report on interview in Moscow with USSR People's Deputy Yuriy Afanasyev by Thomas Michelsen: "Soviet State the Greatest Exploiter in History"; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—He looks as if he could still load trucks at night, as he did during his time as a student. A powerful man with a serious face and unruly graying hair. Now he sits in his professor's study, a stone's throw from Red Square.

He is professor of French history and his room is housed in a beautiful old building dating from the early 19th century. The corridors are thronged with students as we try to find our way up and down staircases.

Today Yuriy Afanasyev is one of the Soviet Union's new politicians. One of Gorbachev's toughest critics within the democratic wing, which is demanding that perestroyka, the reforms, must go deeper—and more quickly.

On the desk are three or four telephones which interrupt us from time to time. The conversations clearly deal more with Soviet politics than French history.

After one of our conversations Prof. Afanasyev and his chauffeur stepped into a black car to travel out to his electoral okrug, the industrial city of Noginsk. A typical journey for a politician. He was to visit two factories during the afternoon to talk to voters.

But nevertheless it was French history which was the starting point for the political career he now finds he has. He began to compare French and Soviet historiography and ask himself why people in the Soviet Union had made history into propaganda.

He decided to fight to turn history into a science.

Now he is being accused of running down the history of the Soviet Union in order to harm the party. And he is also being accused of hatred of Russians.

"But I know that this is untrue," Afanasyev said. "And I see others, chauvinists and anti-Semites escape criticism completely. While I, who am working to improve socialism, come under such attack.

"I am not running down history when I say that the Bolsheviks' vision of socialism has been smashed to smithereens, while the social democratic vision has developed best," Afanasyev said emphatically. "It is a simple statement of fact."

"You cannot assert that we were building socialism at the same time as we were engaged in the mass persecution of our own people."

He sees the seventies in the Soviet Union as a time of decline, of parades and grandiose construction projects. They were also the end of the age of Bolshevism and the end of the Brezhnev era.

He was thoughtful in his conversation, weighing his words. Occasionally he abandoned his seriousness—as when he joked about criminal jargon and prison.

"I have a friend in the Ministry of Internal Affairs who has promised to arrange a cell with a view of the river."

Yuriy Afanasyev is perhaps a future party leader, on the day when the Soviet Union will maybe allow more parties.

Today he is one of the spokesmen for the Interregional Group, a faction within the Communist Party, which for the time being at least is the one party allowed. A party within the party, if you like. But even the act of forming a faction went against founding father Lenin's strict prohibition.

One of the other leaders of this new "party" was Andrey Sakharov, who died recently; another is Boris Yeltsin.

There is of course seriousness too behind Afanasyev's joke about the cell with a view. Today he is one of the most exposed politicians in the Soviet Union. For example, he was recently the target of violent criticism from Gorbachev at a closed meeting of chief editors. Someone as critical as Afanasyev should hand back his party card, Gorbachev is reported to have said.

"In Stalin's day people were put in prison for the sort of thing of which I am now being accused. And a relapse into totalitarian government is still possible, and then anything could happen," Afanasyev said.

He has experience of this from his family. His father was imprisoned in one of Stalin's camps at the end of the forties as punishment for giving 3 kg of flour too much to a woman with many children during the great famine.

However, there is no sign of caution or kowtowing to the powers that be when Afanasyev analyzes his country's politics. On the contrary he is merciless in his criticism.

But even in today's freer climate in the Soviet Union anyone supporting him could run the risk of ending up badly. Such as the editor of the newspaper ZNAMYA

KOMMUNIZMA in Noginsk near Moscow—Afanasyev's electoral okrug.

He was recently dismissed from his post for supporting Afanasyev. And then the whole paper went on strike.

"You can use 'ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA on Strike' as the headline for your article," Afanasyev suggested.

Afanasyev sketches a new and transformed Soviet Union and a reinterpreted socialism. Gone are the roles of superpower and rival of the United States on an aggressive world political stage. And gone is central planning of all production.

When I asked whether his vision of the future can best be described as socialist, liberal, or social democratic, he dismissed the question.

"The antagonism between capitalism and socialism has become outmoded. We have to get out of our ideological straitjacket," he said.

A little while later he spoke of Sweden as a model about which he is fond of telling his voters.

"It is a country which you do not know whether you should call capitalist or socialist," Afanasyev said as a sort of praise.

"It is a paradox that in the 20th century the ideas of socialism have not been realized in the socialist countries, but in other countries, the capitalist countries. In the countries which call themselves socialist, socialism has been distorted to the degree where it causes disgust," he said.

We talked about the burning conflicts between several of the Soviet Union's various nationalities. Afanasyev wants to see Russia stop playing big brother to other peoples in the Soviet Union. And the Interregional Group is working to change the Constitution and create a voluntary accord among the republics—something that looks more like a looser federated state than today's Soviet Union.

As so often, the source of the unfortunate situation is Stalin. It was his centralized model which won out over Lenin's ideas for the Soviet Union, Afanasyev said.

Let us look at concrete cases, such as the Baltic republics. What does Afanasyev think the Estonians should do?

"If these republics were incorporated into Europe they would become a sort of eastern colony, poor outlying areas; they would not be equal there," Afanasyev said. "They know very well that they have strong links with the Soviet Union which they could not possibly break suddenly."

But if, despite everything, the Estonians are stubborn, if they do not follow Afanasyev's advice to stay? Will they then be allowed to leave the Soviet Union?

"Yes, I am in favor of genuine sovereignty. If they want to go then they will be allowed to, and we will have ties with them as with good civilized neighbors. We would have cultural exchanges and trade with them.

"Our economic problems are linked with the national problems. It is impossible to tackle the economy without a new constitution. Here in the Soviet Union the national colors have run together into one single color: Red.

"We are striving for uniform solutions for the whole of the Soviet Union and take no account of the fact that the republics are so different. We have also specialized the various parts of the Soviet Union: One region was to produce coal, another oil, and a third bread. The Soviet Union was seen as a single mechanism in which all organs work together. But we forgot how this specialization affects the unique national development in these regions."

We can now see the results of this in Uzbekistan, for example, where the concentration on cotton gave rise to conditions of slavery, high infant mortality, short life expectancy, and a serious environmental situation.

"We built our economy on the basis of the idea that we had created a new social society without nations, a new nation called the Soviet people. That was a gigantic mistake by us."

Afanasyev joked about one of the most powerful men in the country, Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin, and his economic reforms. Some of what Abalkin says is pure mysticism.

"He is like Kaspirovskiy the miracle worker who appears on television and says to people: Have a little nap! When you wake you will be cured!

"Similarly Abalkin says to the people in this country: Have a little nap, while I cure the economy!"

Afanasyev was warm in his support for free markets and for different forms of ownership—state, cooperative, and private.

But does not a free market and private ownership generally lead to certain people being able to get very rich? To the creation of great economic differences? Is that something that Afanasyev is willing to accept?

"Even today there are examples of economic and social differences," Afanasyev replied. "They are criminal, and are not regulated by laws. Look at the black economy. No one knows for sure how big it is, but there are economists who think that it amounts to R100 billion.

"In the Soviet Union an attempt has been made to implement wage leveling at a very low level. But this has failed. That is why there are inequalities in a distorted form here in the Soviet Union too, despite our poverty. These could be profits from the black economy or they could be privileges."

There is distorted ownership—of a public position or a post in the bureaucracy, for example—which gives their occupants distorted privileges. In actual fact these are a version of private ownership.

"We discuss precisely this sort of question the whole time in this country," Afanasyev explained. "Problems of ownership, of economic and social equality. Perestroyka means that various forms of ownership will exist side by side. And this is not, as some people here are trying to allege, a road to capitalism.

"In the Soviet Union all property was nationalized and all citizens became employees of the state. This means that the state not only became a gigantic monopoly owner but also the greatest exploiter in human history," Yuriy Afanasyev said.

As an example of this exploitation he mentioned the fact that the state's total payment in wages to workers and public servants only amounts to 30 percent of GNP in the Soviet Union. In civilized countries this figure is usually twice as much or even two-thirds, Afanasyev said.

What future does he see for socialism in the world outside the Soviet Union?

"Well, other countries should not repeat our mistakes. But if when we say 'socialism' we mean social security, a rule-of-law state, human values, and social justice, then it is the right direction for other countries too."

Basically, these are the same ideas preached by Jesus Christ and further developed by Marx. We must work further on different variants of these ideas.

And what international role will the Soviet Union play in the future?

"We will reject the role of superpower. And we must stop believing in these fairy stories that say that we must lead the whole world in its development. Above all we must overcome the division of the world into two systems."

But we in the West have often heard that the Soviet Union has special security needs, a feeling of being threatened.

"We are the ones who created the military danger ourselves. We have had an interest in the existence of a threat from the outside world.

"I am not sure that anyone in the world wants to conquer us.

"It is true that 15 years ago there was a feeling of catastrophe and an alarmist mood. But now the situation has changed. We see peaceful prospects for the future.

"Even though there are circles who have not realized that we must have a peaceful, open world.

"Let us end our conversation on this positive note," Afanasyev said.

Razumovskiy at VUZ Party Secretaries Conference

PM1101090490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conference of Party Organization Secretaries"]

[Text] An all-union conference-seminar of secretaries of party organizations of higher educational institutions [VUZ's] began at Moscow M.V. Lomonosov State University on 9 January.

The secretaries of party committees of universities, economic and legal VUZ's, and VUZ's in culture, art, health care, and physical culture are discussing the problems of perestroyka in the party and the renewal of the activity of VUZ party organizations and examining questions connected with the acceleration of the reform of higher education and the training of cadres in the new economic management conditions.

A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, opened the seminar.

A plenary session of the conference seminar was addressed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education; and Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee.

The seminar participants will now continue their work in sections and discussion groups.

Vlasov, Usmanov Participate in Composers Congress

LD1101134890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The sixth congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Union of Composers opened today in the Hall of Columns in the House of Unions. Its participants will sum up the results of creative activity over the last 5 years and will discuss the draft regulations of the creative organization. Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Gumer Usmanov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are taking part in the session's work.

Interior Minister on Perestroyka, Internal Security

AU1201121990 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin by Josef Kirchengast in Vienna: "In Our Country Social Protection for the People Is Too Good"; date not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: What are the biggest problems resulting from perestroyka?

Bakatin: The main difficulty is the economic situation—centralism. Any centralism is a distortion of reality. In the economy, too, one has to rely on democracy and initiative.

DER STANDARD: What is the greatest danger to the USSR's internal security at the moment?

Bakatin: I would say that the biggest danger lies in some sort of hysteria, in which we are all looking around us in shock. For perestroyka, we need quiet, constructive work, and vice versa; stability is not possible without perestroyka.

DER STANDARD: What is braking perestroyka the most?

Bakatin: Above all, the staff who are not willing to develop initiative in their work. It is the habit of centralism. No one wants to bear responsibility; everybody continues working in a lukewarm way. Even if somebody works badly, he does not receive lower wages. Thus, there is no incentive for performance. The social protection of the people is too good. We are now criticizing this side of socialism very much. Of course, a certain social care is necessary and important, but again, this is a distortion of reality.

DER STANDARD: Over the past few weeks, the nationality problem in the USSR has escalated. Do you believe that a solution is possible by using administrative means and security-technology, or rather by political means?

Bakatin: Briefly and to the point: This problem can be solved only by political means. The main path toward a solution is giving the republics more weight. The central government has to hand over rights to the republics—part of that sovereignty which the republics handed over.

DER STANDARD: As the minister you are responsible for the 240,000 troops of the Interior Ministry. According to the law, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has to meet before these troops are used. Why did this not happen before troops were used against demonstrators in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989?

Bakatin: Your question is incorrect, in the sense that the Supreme Soviet Presidium can never decide on the use of troops.

DER STANDARD: Not on the general use of troops, or just not on the use of the troops of the Interior Ministry?

Bakatin: The Supreme Soviet Presidium can only pass a decision about imposing a state of emergency in one area or another. However, only the interior minister can issue an order for using the troops of the Interior Ministry, and this is only if the republic in question asks for it. However, normally this problem is solved through cooperation. In this connection, we adhere to the principle: a minimum of force. I would like to stress this very emphatically.

DER STANDARD: In Tbilisi, were there troops of the Interior Ministry or where there also other troops?

Bakatin: There were also others. One of the lessons from Tbilisi is that, at the request of the Interior Ministry, it was decided not to use the Soviet Army any more for settling internal problems.

DER STANDARD: Who issued the order for troops to be used in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989?

Bakatin: Tbilisi is very painful for us, a tragic and unforgettable incident. It was the former leadership of the Georgian Republic which issued the order to clear the square, and the commander of the Caucasian Military District. Now the military prosecutor is investigating, and if someone is guilty, he will be punished.

DER STANDARD: How many political prisoners are there in the USSR at the moment?

Bakatin: Since April 1985 there have not been any political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The article of the law concerning anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda has been abolished. Now there is anti-Soviet propaganda on every street corner—and those who are engaging in it are free.

DER STANDARD: In the CSSR the amnesty for prisoners issued by President Havel has caused a decline in car production, because suddenly there were not enough workers. Is something similar conceivable in the USSR?

Bakatin: No. From 1986 to 1989 the number of prisoners in the USSR was reduced by half. This has not had any effect on the car industry.

Mironenko on Youth Movement's Future

90UN0566A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Article by V. Slavnov: "There Is No More Monopoly"]

[Text] A general meeting of member organizations of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations was concluded in Moscow yesterday.

More than 40 member organizations participated in its work. Taking proposed amendments into account, the meeting adopted a new KMO [Committee of Youth Organizations] statute and a declaration, and it approved a program of work for 1990. Among the priority directions of the activity of the KMO, the new statute and program identify assistance in the development of cooperation and coordination of the activity of Soviet youth unions, associations, and movements, and expansion and intensification of ties of young citizens of the USSR with foreign youth and youth organizations of the whole world. Among its basic tasks for next year, the renewed KMO specified the defense of the rights of youth and the strengthening of its role in the domestic and foreign policy life of the country. And this, judging by everything, is not simply an empty promise that will never be fulfilled—the draft program of activity of the USSR KMO, which was distributed among participants of the meeting, works out in detail the basic measures for each direction, and it was recommended that member organizations immediately determine where they are ready to work.

Eight organizations were accepted as new KMO members and observers, including the Youth Commission of the Association for Cooperation with the United Nations Organization, the All-Union Student's Detachment, the Higher Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] School under the Central Committee of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and others.

The course of discussions at the general meeting rejected charges of "Stalinism" and attempts to force its line on the KMO that were brought against the VLKSM, and the discussions showed that the Komsomol absolutely and sincerely supports the creation of a renewed KMO as a genuine independent voluntary social organization, and that it is not attempting in any way to make it into a kind of "buffer" by means of which it could keep the youth movements of the country under control.

The meeting's participants adopted a statement on the events in Romania, which makes a firm protest in connection with the use of force against the peaceful population of Timisoara and other population centers, and it contains an appeal to the Romanian leadership to display prudence and patience and not to allow an escalation of violence.

The general meeting of the members of the USSR KMO organization also adopted an appeal to the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies in which it calls on the higher organ of legislative authority to pay more attention to the problems of the youth generation.

The general meeting of the KMO elected a KMO presidium and an Auditing Commission; it considered the question of publishing activity; and it adopted a resolution on membership dues.

A. Kovylov was unanimously elected chairman of the USSR KMO.

V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the VLKSM, spoke at the meeting of the USSR KMO. The first secretary of the VLKSM Central Committee noted that the creation of a genuinely democratic and open forum of youth organizations that were different in character is, perhaps, a landmark event in the more than 70-year history of the development of the youth movement in the USSR.

Neither in the twenties, when a large number of socio-political and professional, mass and "narrow" youth organizations existed in the USSR, nor in the succeeding period, during the activity of the formally independent KMO, was there a really democratic mechanism in our country for free discussion and the comparison of various points of view through dialogue, cooperation, and mutual understanding. And, of course, this is not the fault of the youth movement, but its misfortune. The youth organizations were just a reflection of society and its structure.

V. Mironenko emphasized that the Komsomol came forward as the initiator of the reorganization of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations. In proposing the idea for the creation of a new all-union youth coordinating structure, the VLKSM thereby not only rejected its own monopoly position, but it also recognized the reality of the diversity of forms in the youth movement, and it supported the recognition of this new phenomenon in our political life. VLKSM deputies announced this from the rostrum of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

In proclaiming all-around support to the new KMO, we want to pay an historical debt to that part of the youth that was deprived of the opportunity to express its interests as a result of the previously existing administrative monopoly position of the VLKSM in the youth movement, V. Mironenko noted.

This does not denote a rejection of our history and the results of the activity of an enormous number of VLKSM members who saw in the organization a really advanced detachment of Soviet youth and who worked, struggled, and fought in the name of the Motherland and in the name of socialism.

The Komsomol understood that there should be a break with the dependent role of youth in society, and it came out with the initiative to develop a state youth policy, the establishment of a Committee on Youth Affairs in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and it introduced its own draft Law on Youth.

The Komsomol itself called for, in the program statement, a firm ideological tie with the party. The VLKSM declares that it is with the CPSU and that it supports its political platform. But, in expressing this support, V. Mironenko emphasized that we want to be participants in the development of policy and not only implement it unconditionally.

The future of the youth movement in our country is presented as a multistage, stormy process of origin, formation, and disintegration, and again the origin of all kinds of associations, movements, and unions of youth, reflecting a broad spectrum of youth interests. From the standpoint of expressing the interests of the youth generation of the country from an organizational and political point of view, an important role can be played by a democratic organ such as the Committee of Youth Organizations.

In the country today, there is no real alternative to the Komsomol as a socio-political organization. But this does not mean that it will be this way always. V. Mironenko emphasized that the VLKSM is prepared to cooperate within the framework of the USSR KMO not only with the existing nonpoliticized youth associations, but also with possible socio-political organizations that stand on the platform of recognizing the USSR Constitution. In so doing, the Komsomol by no means intends to be an inactive observer of rapid political processes in the youth environment. V. Mironenko declared that we want our probable partners to know that the Komsomol does not plan, repeating the political invocations of the past, to slide along on the periphery of social life in the future.

The VLKSM Central Committee's first secretary expressed uneasiness over the fact that in the current period of sharp socio-political discussions society will turn away from the problems of the youth generation and will become more and more unreceptive to youth initiatives. The VLKSM delegation came out with a proposal to appeal on behalf of the general meeting of member organizations of the USSR KMO to the Congress of People's Deputies with a request to listen to the youth and to remember that youth seeks innovators. Despite the criticalness of all of the "great" economic and political problems and, perhaps, precisely because these problems are that critical and large, that the attention of the state organs to the young generation assumes a greater and greater significance.

The joint efforts require not only activity of Soviet youth organizations internally, but also international activity, V. Mironenko said. The former KMO has much experience and tradition in this respect. And in an international respect, the Komsomol does not force its own positions on other member organizations, and it is ready to cooperate on behalf of the triumph of the ideas of the new political thinking in the international youth movement.

Viljandi Party Chief Named District Council Chairman

LD1001152890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Summary] Viljandi District Council elected Jaak Allik, member of the bureau of the communist party of Estonia Central Committee and first secretary of the Viljandi Rayon Communist Party Committee, as chairman.

Politburo Members View 1990 Prospects

90UN0635A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB: "How Will We Live in 1990—Anxieties, Hopes, and Plans"]

[Text]

A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Anxieties and hopes, and also plans and achievements, and victories and defeats. All of this is life itself—of society and the individual.

This is a difficult, a very difficult, but a uniquely fortunate time. The social temperature has risen to a critical level. But it seems to me that in all of the confusion, in the continuous round of events, and in all of the outbursts of emotions and ambitions, there is much that is superficial and theatrical. A person is simply craving for a free word along this path of hope.

It is not a "white horse" that awaits us on the threshold of 1990. But also not catastrophes that so zealously frighten us from various sides.

Anxieties.... I will not hide it, there is much that is alarming. They say: The collapse of the economy, the state, the political structure, ideals, and the decay of morality and the like. In this storm of moods, there is room for insidiousness. Sailing on the waves of applause, there are petitioners "in the cause of the working people" who want wages raised and prices dropped and other good things, and free of charge.... How simple everything is! He is dear to the people, and he is recorded in the church calendar of benefactors, and he resolved all problems according to the laws of black and white magic.

Alas, there are no miracles. Indeed, happiness does not lie in them. I believe in labor, in free labor, free thought, the free person, and in a free, prosperous country. It is only through work, democracy, responsibility, and self-discipline that a genuinely civic social system can be attained.

Indeed, there are still many anxieties. Firmly entrenched conservatism is also alarming. Malice and intolerance, which are almost becoming a symptom of the times, are alarming. The complacency with which people treat specific bad management practices in their cities, enterprises, kolkhozes [collective farms], and institutes is alarming. Uncultured festivals that are demonstrated at all levels are alarming.

Irresponsibility is also alarming. The time has come to ask each specific person for a specific deed. Not for his opinion, not about how he is dressed or what he likes, and what kinds of music and poetry he prefers. What is priceless here is democracy, glasnost, the market, a law-governed state, radical reforms, and simple human morality.

But for the time being all of this is keenly lacking, and for the time being transformations run into the force of inertia—so as not to fall in the abyss of emotions, blindness, and nationalistic or some other Pugachevism. But also not to surrender to the fear of the grandeur of what has been started: That is not what they started, they say, suddenly everything will collapse, retreat. But this would be a tragedy. Ahead is a world moving forward, and if you move backward, you cannot catch up.

Hopes? That we have enough common sense, will, resolution, and courage, and that there will be enough character and vision in behavior to endure the pressure of the cross currents. That there is enough of that calm and rational wisdom not to submit to the temptation of simple solutions there where there simply are none. I believe that a society is free and happy only when the individual is free and happy.

There is no need to talk about my personal plans, although I am attracted, of course, to research work, to writing—and... to my grandchildren. However, the burden connected with participation in the treatment of the social organism oppresses when they beat you and you are defenseless, and it heals you when you feel the warmth of comradeship and charitable support.

V.A. Kryuchkov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Chairman of the USSR KGB

Anxieties.... Perhaps we are experiencing a shortage of something else, but we are not experiencing any shortage of this: We are troubled by the state of our economy, interethnic relations, and the moral condition of a society that is passing through the crisis of a transitional period. This list, unfortunately, could be extended. In general, the anxieties are practically the same that every Soviet citizen has. Moreover, as a communist, I cannot with a tranquil heart look at the attempts of certain forces to cause a split in the CPSU ranks. Even though the problems troubling us did not just arise today, it is necessary to eliminate their causes without delay.

They say: If problems have arisen, do not always lash at them, look and see what the cause is. Twelve days of work in the recent Congress of People's Deputies were also for us days in search of answers to many complex questions "why?". This search was not without results. I think the congress was able to find principally correct ways out of the crisis and to outline measures for the near future. I see hope in this. But here also anxieties arise: Will we be able to do everything exactly as conceived, will we be able patiently and persistently to overcome the visible and invisible obstacles on the way to the objective, and will we be able to be guided always in this responsible moment by the voice of reason, and not by emotions, and by the interests of the people, and not by personal ambitions? Today, all of us have to become wiser and more farsighted, and not permit hasty conclusions and, what is more, decisions. "Hurry up slowly," said the ancients. "Slowly" means thorough consideration, taking into account all "pro's" and "con's."

What kind of hopes? There is reason to hope and to expect that, despite the social problems that have accumulated in our society, and the tension in interethnic relations, we will be able to be more tolerant of one another. I hope that on a scale of our values that the material and spiritual categories will be in a more harmonious ratio.

Further, today Soviet society is in need of unity—this very important condition for stabilization. As a representative of law enforcement agencies, I would like to emphasize the importance of and necessity for legality and obedience to the law. It is impossible without this in contemporary complex life. Everyone should think about this, otherwise we will not stop tyranny, violence, and anarchy.

Well, like every Soviet person, I cannot help but hope that the coming year on this planet will be peaceful. This is an indispensable condition for the fulfillment of any plans—both personal and state.

As for my own plans as the leader of the KGB, I would like to say that we are aiming at a further implementation of our perestroyka program. If I am to be more specific, a program to expand democracy and glasnost in work, the strengthening of the legal bases of Chekist activity [security against counterrevolution and sabotage], the strengthening of the fight against organized crime, and a further strengthening of ties with the workers and with the deputy corps. The necessity for our work must be understood by all Soviet people—because the Committee for State Security has no interests other than those of the people.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I greet the editorial collective and the activist members of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and all of its readers with the new year, with wishes for good health, optimism, and success.

Shortage of Candidates for Local Soviets Regretted

PM0901093990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by I. Karpenko under the "Topic of the Day" rubric: "Election Contest Hotting Up"]

[Text] The intense work of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the acute and topical questions for the whole state discussed at them have overshadowed, as it were, another very important event in the country's life—the republic and local soviet elections. And its significance is indeed enormous, since these elections should in the end really establish the principles of democracy and people's power in the state and transfer all power to the soviets.

The current election campaign—the times of its stages and the dates of the elections in the republics differ—is unusual. So that while, say, in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and the Baltic republics the local organs of power have already been formed for the most part and the body of deputies only remains to be augmented at repeat elections in those okrugs where the contenders failed to obtain the requisite number of votes, in many republics the nomination of candidates is only now coming to an end. This process was completed in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] on 4 January. Registration of candidates has begun there. Only after that will the official results on the number and composition of contenders in the okrugs be known.

An interesting and, in my view, very useful analysis was carried out at the last session of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet—the progress of the election campaign and the situation prevailing in the okrugs were examined even before nominations were over. It was reported, in particular, that on average five contenders per seat had been nominated in the okrugs as candidate deputies for the republic Supreme Soviet; there were just over two candidates for the oblast soviets. In the rayon and city soviets, however, there are to date only 1.2 contenders for each seat. As you can see, the activeness of the voters and contenders at the nomination stage clearly diminishes in proportion to the level of the soviets. That, unfortunately, is how matters stand not just in the Ukraine.

Yesterday's IZVESTIYA published the official results of the nomination of Kirghiz SSR candidate people's deputies. The situation and trends are exactly the same: There are three contenders per seat for the Supreme Soviet while for the local soviets almost 40 percent of okrugs are unopposed.

The lamentable tradition of past USSR people's deputies elections whereby in the main leading workers of the regions find themselves for some reason without rivals is being repeated in most such okrugs in the republics. Of course, it is more prestigious to be a people's deputy in the republic parliament, their rights are more closely in line with their obligations, and their future work prospects are clearer. The future of city and rayon deputies is far less well defined. And yet it is they who have to tackle the practical tasks of exercising the sovereignty of soviets at local level.

And it is easy to imagine how much civic courage it takes for people who are perfectly well aware of local soviets' long impotence to agree to be nominated for the city, rayon, or settlement soviet, shouldering the difficult and heavy burden of new concerns and obligations. Particularly as today even the chairman of a settlement soviet executive committee earns half the wages, for example, of a collective farm milkmaid on his territory.

Election campaigning is entering the decisive stage of the contest. We all need to understand a simple truth—our civic activeness and the maturity of literally every one one of us will fully determine whether we get soviets capable of assuming their full power, extricating our country from crisis, and resolving in each of our regions the tasks set by perestroyka.

Officials Censured for Sending Voter to Mental Ward

PM1001151990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Razboynikov dispatch under the rubric "Follow-Up": "'Orders To Put Away'"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk Oblast—That was the headline (IZVESTIYA No 180, 1989) of a report on how Yu. Sobolev, resident of Slavkino Village, was admitted in a mental hospital prior to a [voters'] meeting with Yu. Samsonov, candidate USSR people's deputy and first secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom].

Let us remind readers that A. Loginov, deputy chief of Nikolayevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, wrote in his explanatory note: "...I received a telephone call from V. Panasenko, first secretary of Nikolayevskiy Party Rayon Committee [raykom], who said that Sobolev was hatching some nasty plans for the election campaign meeting. He said that Sobolev must be put away. I telephoned psychiatrist V. Kamalov and explained the situation. He said that he would issue an admission order to a mental hospital...."

The Oblast Prosecutor's Office and court replied to IZVESTIYA's report. And the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom reported: "The dispatch was discussed at an obkom bureau sitting. It was admitted that the item correctly reports a gross violation of legality as far as Sobolev is concerned...." The reply also mentioned that the culprits had been dismissed from office and party proceedings had been instituted against Communists. V. Panasenko, first secretary of the party raykom, was warned about poor standards of educational work. And it went on: "A criminal case has been instituted on the basis of these facts."

A trial followed. The accused were the former deputy chief of the rayon internal affairs department and the physician. Witnesses were examined.... A. Kuznetsov, chief of department at Zagarinskaya Mental Hospital, was called as witness.

"You admitted someone who, to all intents and purposes, was healthy," the attorney said. "And you gave him a powerful psychotropic injection. For what reason?"

"Sobolev refused to talk to me."

"Did he start talking after the injection?"

"Of course," the physician replied.

The cool courtroom suddenly felt stifling after this answer. For some reason, I would have liked to think that A. Kuznetsov was an exception. But during a break in the proceedings I was given the minutes of a general meeting of physicians from Nikolayevskiy Rayon central hospital. Do you think that the physicians condemned their colleague Kamalov, who sent this man to a mental hospital? No way! Sobolev's illegal admission to the mental hospital, to put it mildly, provoked no condemnation by the collegium.... But what were the feelings of those on whose say-so Sobolev ended up in a mental hospital? Testimony by witnesses and the accused showed that it was V. Panasenko, first secretary of the party raykom, who personally gave orders that Sobolev be admitted to the mental hospital. Panasenko behaved confidently, spoke in a dignified manner. His only conclusion was: This is not my style of work....

This is how the trial of the physician and the former deputy chief of the rayon internal affairs department ended: The case was referred for further investigation because investigative organs had not made a legal assessment of V. Panasenko's actions. It is, of course, possible to wait a bit longer—after all, we have waited 6 months. But the next elections are coming up, and fresh meetings with candidate deputies are in prospect. As long as someone does not suddenly get the idea of "putting away" talkative voters.

Resolution on Deputy Recall Draft Law

90US0338B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves:

To hand back the draft law on the procedure of the recall of a USSR people's deputy for additional work to the USSR Supreme Soviet and, following its publication in the press and discussion, to submit the bill for examination by the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies.
[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 21 December 1989.

Property Rights and Responsibilities viewed

LD0901150090 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS
in Lithuanian No 46, 16-22 Nov 89 p 6

[Readers' Letter by Vytautas Landsbergis entitled, "Common Home and Its Overseer."]

[Text] When speaking of a common home, where everyone could live in harmony, the question arises, not only concerning a plan for such a home.

The principles of property and responsibility appear even more important—how are they provided or not provided for in the draft for the new common abode.

It could nicely be stated, the home belongs to all. Then also, we will recall the explanation given, by the Soviet Union, caretaker of Estonia, last fall: the territory is yours, the land and the air do not belong to you, they belong to All of Us.

Millions could gather (theoretically speaking) there, use up the oxygen and that would be the end of brother Estonians in a land not trampled by them, that is not their land.

Who would be to blame, then?—No one. Because commonly-owned property, belongs to no one in particular (looking around everyone) and is Someone's property (best not to look around too much).

When nothing belongs to anyone (supposedly), no one is responsible for anything.

If it is the property of an Anonimous being, no one is responsible anyway.

Little man, you can fix up your little room (in the common building), while your neighbor will traipse in mud and will even make fun of you for being such a neat little bourgeois.

By scolding him you would injure general human rights.

The overseer is especially concerned with this, although he has not yet changed the barracks over into the promised common home, but has already securely assured his future job.

Don't you dare invent any locks, you egotists!

Manipulation of Draft Press Law Detailed

PM1101114790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview in Moscow with "group of young legal scientists" by L. Nikitinskiy under the rubric "At First Hand": "Who Is Concerned About the Press. Everything Is Mixed Up: Draft Laws Are Becoming Signed, While Amendments Are Anonymous"; date not given; first three paragraphs are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The draft USSR Law on the Press and Other Mass Media, published in IZVESTIYA 4 December, has become known as "Fedorov's" in parliamentary circles. While in no way belittling the services of USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov from Chuvashia, the working group leader who prepared the draft for the Supreme Soviet, still we believe that it would be ungrateful to forget about the first instigators of the legislative initiative.

When the authorial draft law on the press was first published and brought still in printer's bundles to the Moskva Hotel for the deputies staying there, the names of its creators were clearly marked on the cover: Yu. Baturin, M. Fedotov and V. Entin. Four times our newspaper has told of the desperate attempt by this harmonious trio to write the draft law on the press themselves, to publish it themselves, at their own expense, and to secure its examination in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Strange though it may seem, they succeeded in all this (a sign of perestroyka!), with the exception of a trifle: The majority of the mass media, about whose good the draft's authors are so actively concerned, began calling them more usually and diffidently "young legal scientists" (a sign of glasnost).

Restoring justice, L. Nikitinskiy, our observer on legal questions, met at the Institute of State and Law with the "group of young legal scientists," which is in no way secret.

[Nikitinskiy] During the vote at the USSR Supreme Soviet to adopt the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media at its first reading only eight deputies voted against it. A record ratio: an overwhelming majority for freedom of speech! Nevertheless, certain detective-story twists in the draft law's fate continue to intrigue both us and our readers.

[Baturin] Yes, they will probably write a book one day about the history of this law's creation. Its culmination will be the appearance in parliament at the last moment of a mysterious alternative draft, which Deputy Ye. Yevtushenko called a "product of lobbyists." But this was just an episode in another tangled history. Mixed up in it were repeated delays, tardiness in distributing the print run of the draft, and much besides. Your newspaper has already written about the "politically competent typists" making the text of the draft law more precise, and I could also add something about politically deaf stenographers. Deputy N. Fedorov's account of the attempt to publish the draft as a working document for discussion among journalists ended with these words (they are preserved on the tape of our dictaphone): "As a result, the composed text of the draft law was not published." But here is how this appears in the official publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "In the end the draft law was published" (Bulletin No. 41, p 16).

[Fedotov] The appearance of an anonymous alternative draft did not come as a great surprise to Nikolay Fedorov's working group. The scenario was generally contrived in a dashing manner. The Supreme Soviet committees and commissions approved one draft and submitted it to the session, but on the eve of the vote the deputies were issued with another one. They voted, they thought, for the first version, but on familiarizing themselves with the draft published in IZVESTIYA a few days later they learned much that was new and interesting for themselves. During the stormy discussion of Article 6...

[Nikitinskiy] Let's not deviate from the subject.

[Fedotov] No, I'm not talking about that. Article 6 of the draft law on the press defines a circle of persons who have the right to found mass media. Fedorov's official draft and also our initiative draft extend this right not only to state organizations and citizens' associations but also to individual citizens. In the last anonymous version the citizen has been ruthlessly crossed out.

[Entin] If there is a person, there is a problem. If there is no person, there is no problem. Do you remember to whom this aphorism is ascribed?

[Baturin] There was a lot of argument at the session over the right of citizens to found mass media. Enshrined in international agreements there is a collection of the citizen's rights constituting freedom of speech: These are the rights to receive, possess, reproduce, and disseminate information. In the opinion of certain deputies who spoke, the right to found mass media does not follow from this at all. But how else can freedom of speech be realized?

[Entin] Complicated arguments were cited, but more usual and understandable arguments were also advanced against the right of a private person to found a mass medium: All sorts of dubious persons will be found, it was said, who will conduct propaganda from "alien positions." Alien to whom? To argue in the old way, it would be appropriate to submit for discussion by parliament the "Draft on the Introduction of Like-Mindedness in Russia," which was drawn up long ago by Kozma Prutkov [collective pseudonym of three 19th-century Russian satirical writers], instead of the law on the press.

[Fedotov] The pranks of the anonymous authors of the mysterious draft are not confined to juggling with Article 6. In Article 42 of this enigmatic document a veiled attempt is made to virtually restore the censorship which is solemnly abolished in Article 1. Here its authors would permit not only the founders of mass media but also the publishing house, whose functions have hitherto been regarded as purely technical, to interfere in the editorial board's affairs. Journalists did not know such diktat even during the times of deaf and dumb stagnation.

[Baturin] In the end, when published, these amendments to Articles 6 and 42 were carried in the newspaper as "variants." It is a good thing to have variants, but your readers, if they want to continue reading a truthful KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA with its own opinion, should take note of just these variants during the discussion and express their viewpoint.

[Nikitinskiy] Let's hope that this is what will happen. Another question: How is the draft which was discussed in the Supreme Soviet related to your initiative draft?

[Baturin] Questions of blood, as Korovyev explained to Margarita, are the most complex questions in the world. At first our draft was "married" with the first official one. That marriage resulted in a combined version, which inherited 89 percent of our authorial features; we counted them specially. But it turned out that some things had migrated in a covert form to the first official draft—even earlier, it is true. Thus, the working version became its own father. During the discussion at the session the deputies proposed supplementing it with certain formulas from the same initiative draft. And if we believe that a totally—totally!—new document was born in parliament, then it is its own grandfather.

[Fedotov] But, to be serious, during the preparation of the draft in the USSR Supreme Soviet working group foreign experience was additionally taken into account, and a multitude of proposals from very different people and organizations were studied. Our offspring also had certain congenital defects eliminated. The preamble, for example, which really seldom serves to adorn a law, disappeared. The draft was reworked and improved, but its chief concept was preserved in the Fedorov group's version. It includes the inadmissibility of censorship, the right of all, including citizens, to found mass media, editorial economic accountability, the inadmissibility of interference in the activity of the press, and the legal protection of all rights laid down by law.

[Baturin] The very fact of the publication of this draft has consolidated the new bounds of glasnost on the very approaches to the cherished freedom of speech. And we hope that society will not now back down from this point. Possibly the published draft is not free of shortcomings.

[Nikitinskiy] I will venture to interrupt you. It seems to me that it is not up to your group to discuss your own offspring. You have done your thing, and now it is up to the people and the deputies to have their say. Today we want the people to know just what they are discussing when they discuss the draft published in the press. Thank you.

78 Percent Perceive 'Social Tension' in Moscow

LD1001144790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A special service of the VECHERNAYA MOSKVA newspaper, together with the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has conducted another investigation into public opinion. Seventy-eight percent of Muscovites polled feel that there is a certain social tension in the capital. Despite elements of scepticism, many of them are placing their hopes on the forthcoming elections to republican and local soviets.

In the selection of a future deputy, his party allegiance is of no significance for 82 percent of city dwellers; for 72 percent—his nationality; for 60 percent—his profession. These are some of the results of the poll published in VECHERNAYA MOSKVA. The sociological figures are being carefully studied by party and soviet bodies of the capital and city services. Not infrequently, specific decisions are based upon them.

Soviet Radio Programs in 1990 Previewed

LD1101190290 Moscow GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA in Russian 8 Jan 90 p 19

[Article by Lyudmila Bolotina, senior secretary of the Main Administration of Programs: "Radio in 1990"]

[Excerpts] It is no doubt right that we have decided to choose the beginning of a new year to talk to our listeners about changes in the radio and new elements in its programs. You have learned about many changes in radio broadcasting from items in the first issue of this weekly.

Thus "Utro," the new news and current affairs program of the main news editorial department goes on the air every day (with the exception of Sunday) from 0630 to 0700 [Moscow time], and from 0730 to 0800, on the frequencies of the All-Union Radio First Station.

The title of the program itself—News and Current Affairs—indicates our desire to make fuller use of the opportunities of radio, to react promptly to events in domestic and international life, and to make morning broadcasting more topical, news-rich, analytical, and varied as far as its styles of programming are concerned.

On the first station of All-Union Radio, more time will be given in the new year to broadcasts on the most topical problems of our life, in which we hope fuller and deeper coverage will be given to the most important topics of the economic and sociopolitical development of society. Included here are features which made their appearance not so long ago, but which have already found their audiences, like "Our Business Club" and "Man and the Economy." The programs "In the Committees and Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet" and "For and Against" will become regular. The callsigns of the "Soyuz" radio station will be heard on the air as they were last year. This station's main attention will continue to be directed to problems of interethnic relations. As always, the features "Ostankino Radio Studio," "Vertikal," the news and current affairs channel for schoolchildren, and "Radio Studio 73"—a new monthly evening program for the family—programs which go out live—will have a link with the listeners.

We would like the First Station, which is taking shape as the sociopolitical and arts satation, to reflect more fully the variety and acuteness, the contradictions of our time, a time of revolutionary renewal of all spheres of life of our socialist society. But while striving for full news coverage and breadth, for variety of themes and genres, at the same time we would like to bring more warmth and mutual understanding between people to the radio programs, more of the striving for unity in overcoming life's problems. Thus emerged the idea which has now been embodied in the new morning program of All-Union Radio, "Companion," intended mainly for elderly listeners—veterans of the war and of labor, and pensioners. [passage omitted on pensioners] Let us remind you that "Companion" goes out on the Third Staiton at 0900.

I would like to stress another feature of radio broadcasting in 1990. We have done a lot of work in order for our listeners to have an expanded opportunity to choose programs according to age, tastes, habits, and way of life. In this context we think it very important that each of the programs of All-Union Radio have its own characteristics, "a look of its own." Taking this into account, the Third Station has changed substantially. It is taking shape as a cultural, educational, and arts channel. Where previously it consisted predominantly of repeats from the First Station and archive recordings, it will now include more original programs.

The broadcasts of radio station Soyuz, prepared by republican and oblast television and radio committees, already have their regular listeners, as do the "Lik" (Literature, Arts and Culture) program which appeared not so long ago, and the Smena daily broadcasts for schoolchildren. [passage omitted on popular music programs]

From New Year's Day, the main editorial office for broadcasting for young people will broadcast the live "Evening Courier" in the late evening, from 2300 to 0001, on the Third Station. This information and music program for young people is not just transferring from the First Station, where it was broadcast twice a week, but is also becoming virtually daily—it will go out six times a week(not Sundays). [passage omitted on new classical music programs on the fourth staiton]

Let us return to our mail. Today it contains very many letters devoted to the probems of ethnic relations. And how correct are those people who write about the need to respect the culture and character, the traditions and inimitability of every people of our vast country! Only thus is it fit for a person to live: You are quite right in your wish to hear more often programs devoted to these problems. In radio broadcasting, it is radio station Sotuz which has to tackle them; its opportunities on all programs of All-Union Radio will be expanded. Even so, in your letters and on the telephone you ask for greater attention to be devoted to the biggest and most ethnically varied of the union republics—the Russian Federation. In connection with this, there will be regular sets of programs about the variety of life and culture of the peoples of the RSFSR on the First, Second, and Third Stations. They will be built mainly on material drafted by local television and radio committees, using news, dispatches and reportage from various regions of the Russian Federation. On the Third Station, it is planned to have more arts programs from local radio—literary and music reviews and special programs devoted to the history, culture, and folklore of the peoples populating the Russian Federation. [passage omitted on aspirations to improve service to listeners]
[Signed] Lyudmila Bolotina, senior secretary of the Main Administration of Programs.

Andrey Sakharov Book To Be Published

LD1101035590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] In the Soviet Union they are making preparations to publish Academician Sakharov's book *Peace, Progress, Human Rights*. It is comprised of selected publicistic works by the outstanding scientist and public figure. Sakharov died last month at the age of 68. A Nobel prize winner, he fought for human rights in the USSR and spoke out against the war in Afghanistan.

Weekly Supplement Focuses on Ethnic Issues

PM1001104190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "First Issue of SOYUZ, IZVESTIYA's New Weekly Supplement"]

[Text] The first issue of SOYUZ, IZVESTIYA's new weekly supplement, has been published and is being delivered to subscribers. The editorial collective's address to readers stresses that the weekly's main themes are the development and strengthening of the Soviet federation, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and the life, work, and preoccupations of all USSR peoples.

The issue includes a conversation with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and a SOYUZ correspondent's interview with A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. The weekly also presents the opinions of USSR people's deputies concerning the future course of perestroyka. There is a number of discussion pieces touching on difficult, complex processes and phenomena occurring in the Ukraine and Moldavia, in Estonia and Lithuania. Ethnographers and historians examine in their articles topical problems of the development of nations and ethnic groups in the USSR. An account of the practice of solving interethnic problems in various regions of the country is published under the "Equals Among Equals" rubric.

Cable TV Network Set Up in Transcarpathia

LD1001115190 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A cable television network has been set up in the district center of Rakhiv [Rakhov], Transcarpathia. Local residents frequently complained about poor reception of Central and Ukrainian Television programs because of the screen effect of the mountains. The local enterprises pooled their resources and solved this problem by building a powerful television center in their city.

Andizhan Oblast Radio Begins Broadcasts in Kirghiz

LD1001161990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Having switched on their radios this morning, the inhabitants of Kirhgiz nationality of the Andizhan Oblast heard their native language. The oblast's radio commenced regular programs which can also be heard by the inhabitants of Fergana and Namangan Oblasts of Uzbekistan, where a considerable number of Kirghiz people also live. Neighbors from the Osh Oblast of Kirghizia have given a lot of help in preparing the first issue. Transmissions in the Kirgiz language will air twice a week. The themes are most topical—questions of perestroyka, ethnic relations, economics, science, culture. Now the radio of Andizhan Oblast transmits in 4 languages—Uzbek, Russian, Crimean Tartar and Kirghiz.

Lake Baykal Region Hit by Earth Tremor

PM1001164190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Earth Tremor in Buryatia"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 9 Jan—An earth tremor was recorded in Buryatia at 0309 hours Moscow time today. The strength of the earthquake, whose epicenter was in the Lake Baykal region, reached 3 points in Kabansk and tremors of 3-4 points were felt in Ulan-Ude. There were no injuries or damage.

Earthquake Hits Buryat Area, No Casualties

OW1001062490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 9 Jan 90

[From the Vremya Newscast]

[Text] An earthquake occurred in Buryatiya today at 0309 Moscow time [0009 GMT]. Its epicenter was located in the region of Lake Baykal. Tremors up to 4 points were felt in Kabansk and 3-4 points in Ulan-Ude. However, there were were no casualties or destruction.

Low Level of Neva Delays Voyage to Murmansk

PM1101104190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "'High Tide' for Nuclear-Powered Ship"]

[Text] The Neva made unexpected changes to the schedule for the voyage of the new Soviet nuclear icebreaker "Sovetskiy Soyuz" along the Leningrad-Murmansk route.

A sharp drop in its level at the estuary prevented the ship from heading out into the Gulf of Finland. And it was only yesterday, after waiting for "high tide," that Captain A. Gorshkovskiy could take the nuclear-powered ship out of the waters of the "Baltiyskiy Zavod" Association, where the polar giant was built. It has been handed over to the Murmansk Steamship Company.

This is the sixth icebreaker with a nuclear power plant that will escort convoys of dry cargo ships through the waters of the Arctic Ocean. Over 30 years of experience in operating the nuclear polar flotilla has shown the high reliability of all its systems and mechanisms.

The Baltic shipbuilders are continuing to build powerful ships. They include the "Oktyabrskaya Revolutsiya" and the "Vaygach," built in collaboration with Finnish shipbuilders.

Lvov-Belgrade Air Link Begins 9 Jan

LD0901161690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Summary] Kiev, 9 Jan (TASS)—A new international air link was opened today between Lvov and Belgrade by a Soviet Yak-42 plane. According to an agreement between the Commercial Administration of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Civil Aviation Department of the SFRY, there will be one flight per week with flights by the Yugoslav airlines expected soon.

Nikolay Kravets, head of the International Transportation Department of the Ukrainian Civil Aviation Department, reported that an airlink between Kiev and Munich will begin this year, a charter flight, Kiev-Helsinki-Kiev, is being organized for the summer and will become regular next year. Charter flights to Madrid, Barcelona, Stuttgart and Munich are also being looked into.

Two Views on Language-Learning Problems

PM1101162190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Two articles, one by Yu. Pyatov, senior engineer of the "Eesti Ekspert" firm of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Chamber of Trade and Industry and a teacher and translator of English, the second by Yu. Sillaste under the general heading "Your Tongue—My Friend: Platform for Debate: Problems of Our Federation"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Estonia was the first union republic to adopt a law establishing the language of that land's indigenous population as the state language. But heated debates and discussions continue here about the advisability of that step and the difficulties occurring in people's lives. What are these difficulties connected with, how are they to be overcome, how much of it is due to people themselves and how much to the state? Hundreds of thousands of people now need to find answers to these and many other questions.

Today we offer two views on the problem of the state language in Estonia. We hope that juxtaposing them will help the reader himself to come closer to the truth: Does a national republic need a state language or not, and, if so, what must be done to ensure that its study is a natural requirement for all members of the population whose own language is different?

Learning from Ellochka

Each day may bring a person at least a little joy. You just have to know how to see it and not miss it, overlook it, or mistake it. So, although still hoping for happiness, I am thinking all the time about how I can avoid losing my job now because I do not know Estonian. Because the relevant republic law, like a delayed-action mine, has already begun counting down the time needed to learn the language. A list of professions has been drawn up where a knowledge of Estonian will be mandatory in a few years' time.

While merrily pondering all this, I recently opened a copy of the newspaper VECHERKA (19 September 1989) and made a discovery. It was hidden behind a headline which was as optimistic as fall promising the early arrival of summer: "Estonian—It's a Cinch!" The author Rayno Yuurak informed me that the "Kodamu" firm was rushing out an edition of a slim booklet containing just 734 words representing a basic vocabulary.

Life is a tricky thing, of course, and always springs that unknown 735th or 736th word on you. But if you follow the logic of the compilers of the "basic vocabulary," those words can probably be deduced by using those that you already know; that is, you can produce an acceptable description of what you need.

At this point, for some reason, I recall my student days and I wonder exasperatedly: Why did we alone spend 5 years in a language lab learning English till our heads ached? After all, knowing a language, apparently, is nothing more than knowing how to count to a thousand. Not even that much—734 will do. It's a cinch! And that is considerably more than Ilf and Petrov's heroine Ellochka the Cannibal [inarticulate character in "The Twelve Chairs"] knew.

But consider at least how awkward it would be if the "Kodamu" venture in publishing the original manual were taken up and, what's more, developed in other republics of the USSR? And directives were issued to use the Turkic languages for the operating instructions for a coffee grinder. What would happen then?

"Tut, tut, tut," the gray-bearded elders will probably say, sadly shaking their heads. "What's this newcomer talking about? May God punish him for insulting our language!"

Science should at least mention the role of age in the study of a foreign language. But while waiting for an answer from our esteemed Pedagogical Academy, I shall quote another rhetorical question that is often heard: "Why must the Estonians speak Russian if the Russians do not speak Estonian?"

I'm sorry, but what are we supposed to do? Are we supposed to try to create a Soviet Esperanto now, when people speak Russian in all the republics of the USSR? And do we want our union of equal republics to be preserved for our children and grandchildren?

The Law on Language is already operating, ahead of time, furthermore, "ahead of schedule." Yet virtually every day now I hear heartbreaking stories like these. People describe, for example, how recently the driver of a streetcar involved in an accident gave the passengers the instruction to leave the vehicle only in Estonian—as for those who didn't understand, that was their problem. Or the story that on an intercity bus a passenger asked the driver to switch the radio from the Russian-language station to Estonian because it was a state bus and therefore the radio should be tuned into the state language.

But what can we expect? All sorts of lunacies and absurdities are bound to occur. The most lamentable thing is that they occur in everyday life, with the active involvement of the official law. To this it must be added that many people are frightened and are losing their self-control. For example, at our enterprise—which, by the way, has very close professional ties with a seaport—20 people out of a staff of almost 100 immediately enrolled on Estonian language courses (teaching conditions wouldn't permit any more). Enrollment was like boarding a bus in the rush hour. Those, like this author, who didn't get on a course are now deep in thought: "Have we missed the boat?" Although, if you think about it, you need English rather than Estonian for successful work at the port.

At this point I want to ask this question: What is the direct and indissoluble link between the desire for Estonia's economic prosperity and the trend toward what is in fact the transfer of the entire population and documentation to the use of the Estonian language? Who will answer that for me? In conclusion I would say: Perhaps the "slim booklet worth whole volumes" to which I referred here will not cause anyone special harm. I am afraid of something else: Won't it encourage cadre workers and functionaries of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, as well as those of my fellow citizens, to seize on this ersatz linguistics as a drowning man clutches at straws? [end of Pyatov article]

Tallinn—Is It Easy to Say 'Zdravstvuyte'?

[Sillaste article] The eagerness for a polemic and the logic behind it are amusing things, of course. This is what happens: All the assertions made in the disputants' arguments are true; they are even irrefutable, and the outcome is absurdity.

Let us recall the classics here. In the history of philosophy there is the well-known paradox of Zeno, which states that fleet-footed Achilles will never catch up with the tardy tortoise because at the moment that he takes a step forward the latter also moves further away and so on ad infinitum. Just try and prove that Achilles will not only catch any tortoise up but will easily overtake it! Any dim-witted first-grader will recognize that sooner than the inveterate debater who has opted for Zeno's logic.

Here is what I think: Are we not sometimes captive of such logic in the debates on the role of state languages in the national republics?

By all accounts, the esteemed Yu. Pyatov also has gotten carried away by this. A teacher of English has hurriedly entered the debate. This must mean that he has more or less successfully learned English (a very tricky language to learn, by the way), although I would venture to suggest that he has hardly mastered the vocabulary of Shakespeare.

Our opponent is a maximalist: It is all or nothing! He says no to the 734 words because they do not allow you to explain yourself to the local population at the appropriate Shakespearean level, and no to "hellos and goodbyes" in the language of the people among whom you are living.

Incidentally, I cannot really imagine that a teacher of language (any language) has never dealt with dictionaries other than academic ones or that he has never come into contact with small dictionaries or phrasebooks containing the very simplest, most primitive constructions. Is an English-Russian pocket dictionary really a slap in the face to Shakespeare? No, at all: It is merely a means of learning the language—one among many.

Moreover, I personally welcome the appearance of the basic dictionary since it has been compiled on the basis of Raymo Raag's word-frequency dictionary and consequently contains the most frequently used words and serves as an indispensable language guide precisely for beginners.

However, I want here to recall an incident from life: A Russian mother with a fair knowledge of Estonian once made a fool of herself in front of her daughter when she was unable to help her do her Estonian homework: There were too many unfamiliar words. But the key to the problem was plain—the text of the manual abounded in terms from the sphere of agriculture, which a city-dweller would not have occasion to hear or use in everyday communication. A dictionary—not a basic one, of course—came to the rescue. But I do not cite this story in praise of thick dictionaries but to ask what principle is used in choosing the vocabulary for a school textbook. Certainly there was still no word-frequency dictionary at that time. And, incidentally, I have not laid eyes on it on the book counters even now.

Where I will not argue with my opponent is that science is still giving us very short measure—and not just pedagogically. We need textbooks, methodologies, and educational aids—differentiated for young and old, schoolchildren and adults, and taking account of the initial level of knowledge of the language of those who understand but do not speak it and those who speak it, but imperfectly. We still have a very great deal to do. And the basic dictionary constitutes thus not even a landmark on this path but a small pebble.

So clearly it is not the dictionary that is the problem. But what is it, then?

I recently came across an essay entitled "The Arrogant Adolescent" by the well-known historian and writer of the last century, N.I. Kostomarov. He describes, among others, A.I. Osterman, the statesman of post-Petrine Russia. What was it about Osterman that interested the historian? The fact that he "was not like the bulk of the foreigners of the time who sought happiness in Russia; they usually regarded Russia condescendingly, considered themselves educators and benefactors of the barbarian country in which they had settled, and did not deem it necessary to know Russian: As barbarians, the Russians had to learn the speech of the educated nations rather than educated people learn their barbaric, savage tongue."

The moral? The moral is that in questions of language people value first and foremost the attitude to their own language rather than the perfected knowledge of the dictionary of V. Dal, Paul Saagpakk, or even a basic dictionary.

So let us first study the language of the people among whom we live, with its "hello and goodbye" and then the other 734 words, and then get down to other dictionaries. Love cannot be imposed: If you don't like a dictionary you can immediately choose any other one you like; it is all the same; every road has to start with the first step, and where it ends is up to the traveler. The Estonian language can't get away from Achilles' tortoise, but it can from Yu. Pyatov!

I would like to conclude by quoting a few more lines, which this time are quite official. The implementation of the Law on Language is a very serious socioeconomic program, which requires a lot of effort and a considerable amount of money. And therefore, on the instruction of the government, the Estonian State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the State Committee for Education have approved an appropriate package of measures. It will cost R9.6 million—that is, not only the publication of textbooks, phrasebooks, and lessons in schools but also work at enterprises and in institutions training cadres (chiefs and others) as part of improving their skills, both business and human. It is planned to spend around R7 million on this alone.

So let us meet one another halfway. Remembering that without a knowledge of languages we will never attain mutual understanding among people. And without interethnic understanding there will be no stability in the society in which we live.

Crimean Greeks' Cultural Society Founded

LD1001141190 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev January 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov:

Greek colonies were first founded on the Crimean Peninsula in the 6th century B.C. and had a great impact on its development. The kingdom of Bosporus and the town of Chersonesus were founded by Greeks. Colonists brought grape vines here and taught the local population many new skills.

The Crimean branch of the All-Union Society of Soviet Greeks has just been formed. It hopes to revitalise national culture in the Crimea and started its work by organising Greek language courses. Soon Sunday schools will be opened where Crimean Greeks will study their history and culture.

"About 3,000 Greeks live in the Crimea now. There were 20,000 of them before the war," said Deputy Chairman of the new society Konstantin Apostolidi. During the German occupation he led an underground youth group and is well acquainted with the Greeks' struggle against Nazism. His mother and brother were killed because of contacts with the anti-fascist underground.

After the war, Crimean Tatars and Greeks were falsely accused of collaborating with the invaders and forcibly deported from the peninsula. Apostolidi managed to return to his motherland only in 1964. "Many Greeks want to return to their ancestors' land. The society is going to help them find home and work in the Crimea. It also plans to restore our cultural monuments."

Odessa Plant Goes Independent

LD1001115890 Kiev in English to North America 0300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] An industrial amalgamation of food machine-building in the city of Odessa (southern part of the Ukraine) became independent from the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry to which it once belonged. From now on more than 3,000 workers of the enterprise have begun to work as leaseholders. The bilateral agreement envisages that the lease will last 10 years, and after that time the workers will become the owners of the enterprise.

Gorbachev Signs Physicist's Obituary

PM1101134590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 8

["Obituary of Academician Pavel Alekseyevich Cherenkov"]

[Excerpts] World science has suffered a grave loss. The outstanding physicist, member of the CPSU, Hero of Socialist Labor, and Nobel and USSR State Prize winner Academician Pavel Alekseyevich Cherenkov has died in his 86th year. [passage omitted describing Cherenkov's career before 1958]

In subsequent years P.A. Cherenkov's scientific interests were connected with the study of cosmic rays, charged-particle accelerators, and the electromagnetic interaction of particles and atomic nuclei. His services in installing Europe's first electron synchrotron and his contribution to the study of photonuclear reactions were marked by two further USSR State Prizes (1952 and 1977).

For his outstanding scientific achievements P.A. Cherenkov was elected a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1964 and in 1970 a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]
[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, V.A. Medvedev, N.I. Ryzhkov, A.N. Yakovlev, G.P. Razumovskiy, I.T. Frolov, G.I. Marchuk, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.I. Ilichev, V.A. Koptyug, V.N. Kudryavtsev, N.P. Laverov, A.A. Logunov, G.A. Mesyats, O.M. Nefedov, Yu.A. Osipyan, R.B. Petrov, K.V. Frolov, I.M. Makarov, N.G. Basov, V.L. Ginzburg, G.T. Zatsepin, L.V. Keldysh, M.A. Markov, A.M. Prokhorov, A.N. Skrinskiy, Ye.L. Feynberg, Ye.S. Fradkin, I.M. Frank.

Survey Reveals Novosibirsk Radiation Sources

PM1001122190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with B.V. Tigin, chief of Novosibirsk Oblast Sanitation and Epidemiology Station Radiation Hygiene Department, by own correspondent A. Illarionov in Novosibirsk: "Radiation Phobia and Radiometry. What Is Behind the Rumors Circulating in Novosibirsk"—no date of interview given]

[Text] Novosibirsk would seem to be far enough from Chernobyl. But rumors about various manifestations of radiation start circulating in the city every 2-3 months. That was the topic of my conversation with B.V. Tigin, chief of Novosibirsk Oblast Sanitation and Epidemiology Station Radiation Hygiene Department.

[Illarionov] Boris Vladimirovich, sundry rumors about radioactive meat being on sale are circulating in the city.

[Tigin] A very instructive case. One of the stores offered 3 kg of meat instead of 1 kg per ration coupon. That should have caused nothing but joy. But it made purchasers suspicious: The meat must be bad. And so, associates of a scientific research institute in Akademgorodok, without being specialists in sanitation hygiene studies of foodstuffs, decided to test the meat for radioactivity without the leadership's knowledge. The study was based on total ignorance, and the result was—huge doses of radiation. And the rumor spread around the city: "Watch out for the meat!!!"

When the meat was subsequently tested by specialists, it was found to be radiation-clean.

[Illarionov] Until quite recently, radiation was treated with amazing carelessness. Now everyone detects radiation where there is no such thing.

[Tigin] It is not hard to explain this strange phenomenon. Until the recent past, information on radioactive contamination was secret. Moreover, radiation itself has neither taste, nor color, nor smell. All this engendered a sense of enhanced danger.

[Illarionov] Nonetheless, radiation phobia is not promoted by just idle rumors. Let us look no further than the recent case involving tea.

[Tigin] A trivial case, but unfortunately it did occur. Some packets of tea in consignment No 36, made by the "Adishi" Combine (in Zugdidi), did contain—instead of a blend of Georgian and Indian tea as prescribed—a blend of Georgian tea plus... cesium 137 and 134. The cesium fell on the plantation back in 1986, out of the Chernobyl cloud when it passed over the Caucasus.

Fortunately, nobody suffered from this tea in Novosibirsk: Only some of the packets were found to be contaminated. As a matter of fact, it would have taken 10 liters or so of really strong tea to deliver a dangerous dose.

[Illarionov] It is well and good that everything had such a happy end. But accident was instrumental also in this case—the cesium in the tea was detected accidentally when tea was being made in one of the laboratories. And now you have the city residents asking: Why is it that not all foodstuffs are tested for radiation?

[Tigin] There is no chance of doing this today. The irradiation dose could be measured, given sufficient time. But when you are talking about a specific proportion of some supposed radioactive element in some product, the analysis is much more complex. For example, the dry tea in consignment No 36 showed radiation close to normal background levels. The cesium content had to be determined once the tea was made, using the norms set for drinking water (no special norms have been set for tea).

In order to fully clarify the "tea" incident, we had to ask for help from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Geology and Geophysics Institute. In any case, we had to check at the same time 28 other tea blends which had been offered for sale. This took 2 weeks, and all that time impatient city residents besieged the Sanitation and Epidemiology Station with telephone calls and personal visits. Purchasers returned more than 60 tonnes of tea to trade network enterprises—a quantity equal to several months' stock. The slow progress of the investigation was due to the shortage of accurate, fast and modern equipment.

[Illarionov] Proceeding from this not-so-pleasant fact, some city residents suggest: Why not supply everyone with a radiation measuring instrument?

[Tigin] I believe that personal dosimeters will be almost useless today. These instruments will require an entire network of workshops for calibrating them, repairing them, and monitoring them. We lack the necessary specialists, and especially the equipment, for such new services.

Here is my opinion: Today we need a small, reliable, and cheap radiation monitoring instrument for every enterprise, institution, or hospital which could not only measure the dose of irradiation but could also distinguish between beta-particles. Such an instrument, as a matter of fact, has been developed by an institute in Leningrad. We like it very much. It costs just over R300, but is manufactured in extremely inadequate quantities. There is no chance of acquiring it even for rayon sanitation and epidemiology stations.

[Illarionov] You insisted that VECHERNIY NOVOSIBIRSK should publish a radiation map of the city. What were you banking on?

[Tigin] I was banking on the fact that the way to people's minds and hearts lies through glasnost. An aerial photograph taken from a helicopter using highly sensitive instruments makes it possible to see even the tiniest radioactive objects, ranging between 6 and 12 millimeters in size, at a depth of up to 0.5 meters underground. A total of 84 radiation anomalies were detected, and it soon became clear that they were caused by the people of Novosibirsk themselves. They included 14 radioactive ampoules from used-up radioisotope instruments which should have ended up at the radioactive waste interment station. But they were mindlessly and recklessly thrown out into streets and yards.

Dozens of anomalies were due to the activities of pilferers. They were caused by radioactive bricks, wooden beams, slates, and metal constructions in sheds, garden plots, and even private homes (for example, an elderly pair who had bought a home built with radioactive bricks had to be resettled in a communal apartment).

There are dozens of such "homemade spots"—radioactive soil which drivers had failed to deliver to interment stations because they were in a hurry, or at times even because they acceded to some homeowner's request: Come on, kid, fill the ditch around the house!

A detachment of workers wearing special protective clothing worked hard all through the fall to literally dig these 84 anomalies out of the city's body. Almost all were successfully eliminated... But a large pollution spot—800 by 200 meters—still remains at the mouth of Yeltsovka-Vtoraya River, brought down by the river itself from its upper reaches where contaminated soil had been irresponsibly dumped at some time in the past. I felt especially sad when the helicopter detected long-distance water pipes in the "Zarya-1" market garden cooperative near Pashino Settlement, which were used in the past to carry radioactive pulp to production units. Many years ago, a total length of 1 kilometer of pipes was stolen from the enterprise and sold to the market garden cooperative. And the gardeners watered their plots with the residue of radium-226 in the pipes. Until the last few days, these pipes were radiating up to 2,000 microroentgens per hour.

[Illarionov] Yes, our past will be affecting our health today and tomorrow. There was the explosion in Kyshtyma, there were other explosions. Data on radiation pollution has finally been declassified. So why not publicize the regions and corridors of such pollution, giving the years when pollution occurred and the duration of radiation pollution, so that everyone knows whether he may be exposed to a dangerous dose?

[Tigin] I fully agree. Speaking about high legal and ethical standards of relations between state and people, people who may have been contaminated in the past should not just be notified but should be actively sought out. They should then be investigated using the best possible methods. Apart from anything else, this will produce invaluable material for studying the long-term effect of radiation on people and the organism's ability to counter it and restore itself. Such an approach would be charity in action.

Economic

Deputy Claims Production Losses Understated

PM0801103590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by N. Fedorov, chairman of a subcommittee of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, under the rubric "Deputy's Position": "According to Incomplete Figures"]

[Text] Right now economic reform and the policy of perestroyka as a whole are being delayed by unproductive expenses and losses—losses with which society does not have the power to cope. The true scales of this phenomenon, on the one hand, seem to go unnoticed by the official leadership and, on the other, are exploited by dealers in the "shadow economy."

Our official statistics do not indicate the majority of these expenses and losses and they figure in statistics as essential expenditures. As a result all indicators are distorted: figures for gross social product, national income produced, labor productivity, and others.

Do we know the true state of affairs today? An analysis of the figures and of the accounting and methodological materials of union departments and ministries (the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat], the Ministry of Finances, the People's Control Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs) shows that there are neither consolidated indicators for losses nor methods of calculating losses. The USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy has nothing to do at all: "The scientific research plans," it reports, "do not provide for research into the assessment and determination of the reasons for unproductive expenses and losses in the national economy."

Unfortunately, the result is that the USSR people's deputies and the government, in proceeding in their activity from incorrect, understated figures for losses, have taken and continue to take economically unsubstantiated decisions and willy-nilly give the people promises and programs which are unfounded from the scientific and practical viewpoint. Judge for yourselves. According to the figures of the Goskomstat, the damage from losses in the country's national economy in 1988 was not in excess of R40 billion. Losses of this size have become the guideline for public opinion, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government.

In reality the damage from losses is considerably higher, many times higher. Let us compare losses of material resources indicated by different sources. In industry in 1988 the damage from losses of material resources was reckoned at R20 billion; that is the Goskomstat's calculation. A different figure was cited at the USSR Supreme Soviet 3 July by P. Mostovoy, chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply: Every year half of industrial output perishes and the loss is more than R450 billion. Calculations and notes on the losses submitted by the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences show that the damage is close to the sum cited by P. Mostovoy.

In 1988 in agriculture, the Goskomstat informs us, the damage from losses of material resources was equal to R5.2 billion. According to figures cited in their official speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov, in fact 20 to 40% of the output produced by the countryside perishes. Thus in 1988 the damage from losses of agricultural output was between R47 billion and R95 billion.

To the losses which have occurred in industry and agriculture we must add the damage done to construction, transport, material and technical supply, trade, and other sectors.

The notes on losses presented by the USSR Academy of Sciences show the state of material resources in the national economy to be even more complex: "Losses of the objects of labor" total approximately 70% while "losses during the use of the means of labor" total 40% to 50%.

The Goskomstat figures for losses of work time, both in terms of their size and in terms of the losses they cause to society, are extremely incomplete and understated. The Goskomstat reports that in 1988 losses of work time averaged 0.5% to 0.9% of the total work time. The figures submitted by the USSR Academy of Sciences present a different picture: "Losses of work time are estimated at 30%."

The Goskomstat is, first, assessing the damage from losses of work time on the basis of industry, where 32% of the total number of workers and employees are employed, and, second, is focusing attention on output for which there is a delivery shortfall. As a result it defines the loss at R2.8 billion. But losses of work time are known to take place not only in industry but also in other sectors of the national economy, especially in the agro-industrial sphere. These losses entail the breakdown of production output and payment for false labor—stoppages. Over the year, with 30% of work time unused, approximately R83 billion is paid for this time (the data are from the USSR Academy of Sciences).

The Goskomstat figures for losses of work time are also structurally incomplete. They do not reflect stoppages within shifts, which reduce the labor process 15% to 20% (figures from the USSR Academy of Sciences), nor do the Goskomstat figures reflect breaks connected with migration and changing jobs, with injury, and other events.

In calculating losses, the Goskomstat is geared only to workers. Yet employees also take part in the labor process.

An approximate total which is nonetheless more correct than the statistical total shows that overall unproductive expenses and losses are from R580 billion to R629 billion. They accounted for 38% to 40% of the gross social product in 1988, and that does not take into account ecological losses.

A real idea of the gross social product, the national income, labor productivity, and other indicators is glossed over and concealed by the double counting used in practical planning and accounting. According to Gosplan figures, double counting "fluctuates between 36% and 40% of the cost of the social product." In 1987, for instance, the gross social product was defined at R1,464.5 billion and the quantity of double counting in it at R529.6 billion.

Here Gosplan proceeds from the premise that since the gross social product "describes the real economic turnover in the reproduction process, it contains elements of double counting." But the real gross product, science says, must be distinguished from gross turnover. Confusing the two "pushes producers toward the artificial expansion of double counting, the raising of prices, and the erosion of the low-cost range."

In a society with a system for concealing unproductive losses by double counting, two opposite trends develop. The first trend is to transfer the difficulties to the majority of working people, causing a decline in their living standard. The other tendency is the management apparatus' transfer of part of the national income and the development on this basis of its ties with the "shadow economy," and the growth of organized crime. According to account figures submitted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office, criminal capital is equal to between R210 and R240 billion. One-third of this sum takes part in the "shadow turnover," the remaining two-thirds "are turned by dealers into gold, precious stones, and movable and immovable property."

What are the ways out of such a complex situation? It is essential to remove the enterprise labor collectives from the state of "passive sabotage" into which they have been placed by our system of management and transfer into their hands the business of creating a system of labor which provides incentives. It is important to elaborate, again by relying on the labor collectives, real normatives for essential production expenses, excluding double counting from them, and to assess each person's labor to reduce expenses. I think that we must effect a radical reexamination of methodological recommendations for the elaboration of the state economic and social development plan. Planning and accounting cannot be built only on the gross sum of costs.

We must immediately lift all bans on the distribution and expenditure of funds earned by the labor collectives. They must decide for themselves which funds to form and according to what normatives, how and on what to spend this money, set wages for their own workers without restrictions from state and local organs, and resolve questions of leave and so forth.

The positive processes of the perestroyka of the economic mechanism can be accelerated or slowed down by the use of the relevant taxation policy. In this connection we should immediately repeal the tax on the growth of the labor remuneration fund, restrict the tax on profit (income) to 30%, and to moderate by a factor of three the "progressive" tax on wages. A law on socialist business enterprise capable of legalizing more sensible relations between economic subjects could become the optimum legal form for the implementation of these proposals.

Kazakh Premier Seeks More Economic Control

PM0901112790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with U. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, by own correspondents V. Ardayev, E. Matskevich, under the rubric "Republics and the Center: New Opportunities": "With the Right of a Proprietor"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Alma-Ata—At the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the laws on republican self-management and self-financing and on local economy and local self-management were cited among the fundamental enactments which will be adopted in the immediate future. Thus the legal and normative groundwork for the new economic system is being laid. The republican conceptual plan for self-management and self-financing, which is being elaborated in Kazakhstan, has its own specific features. This is the subject of an interview with U. Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers by IZVESTIYA correspondents.

[Correspondents] Uzakbay Karamanovich, the Kazakh SSR conceptual plan for self-management and self-financing has been widely discussed in the republic. On what principles is it based?

[Karamanov] The conceptual plan centers above all on the sovereignty and independence of the republic's economy, which is to be developed within the framework of the Soviet Federation as part of the country's single national economic complex. We have gotten used to the idea of Kazakhstan's fabulous wealth in mineral resources. However, most of our deposits have been exploited for many decades by enterprises under union jurisdiction. It is no secret that the inhabitants of the regions where union departments have established their bases receive a miserly part of the revenue that is obtained. While making a considerable contribution to the country's economy, the republic still depends on subsidies and remains a raw material provider. Therefore the draft of our conceptual plan is based mainly on changing the relation between union and republic ownership. This applies both to the ownership of land and mineral and other natural resources, and to the ownership of a substantial proportion of the means of production, including enterprises of the base sectors of industry, such as the mining and the fuel and energy industries.

[Correspondents] Is the draft republic conceptual plan not at variance with the ideas enshrined in the draft Law on Ownership in the USSR?

[Karamanov] It is a question of approaches to the implementation of general principles. It is entirely natural that in different areas different approaches are adopted to the solution of these questions. Furthermore, it seems to me, the draft Law on Onwership is essentially "centrist" in nature, inasmuch as it clearly defends the interests of the center, depriving republics of the opportunity to develop their economic independence and strengthen their economic sovereignty. Consequently, this conflicts with the idea of regional economic accountability for republics, which we have proclaimed and which has won the support of the CPSU Central Committe.

I will use an example to explain this. Enterprises of the fuel and energy complex and mining and other base sectors account for more than half of our industrial potential. If we leave them under the sole control of union departments, then there can be no question of any real self-management or self-financing: We will continue living on subsides as a matter of necessity, just as we did before.

[Correspondents] Do you have an alternative solution to this problem?

[Karamanov] We want nothing less than a confrontation with the center. We regard the path of compromises on both sides as much more acceptable and constructive. At the moment we are going over a draft resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers which concerns an experiment to be carried out in the Kazakh SSR in 1990 to adjust the management mechanism on the basis of self-management and self-financing. The fact that this is a government and not a legislative document makes it possible to hold the experiment prior to the adoption of the laws on ownership, local self-management, and so forth. It will enable us to rehearse elements of the new type of management in the republic in 1990, and to switch to regional economic accountability at the oblast level in 1991.

[Correspondents] Is there, however, any guarantee that by ridding itself of the diktat of union departments, the republic will not at the same time strengthen the diktat of local administrative and economic organs?

[Karamanov] It is always easier to destroy something. Today, having largely undermined the administrative-edict system, we still have not managed to bring the new economic model fully into play. We have had a painful experience when, by mechanically abolishing a whole series of ministries and departments and changing enterprises' well-established ties, we have achieved the reverse effect. It is, of course, necessary to cut back the number of republican departments. However, it is a matter not so much of how many ministries there are as of how radically their functions change and their activities are subordinated to economic rather than administrative interests.

The draft conceptual plan is geared to ensuring that republic organs share their functions with all kind of associations, concerns, consortiums, amalgamations, and enterprises. It will not matter if these also come under the jurisdiction of a union ministry. Let us ensure that there are appropriate organs in the republic to coordinate their work. This will make it possible to pool capital and to channel joint investments into the development of spheres and components which most need it. After all, the strength of major Western concerns lies in their ability to swiftly switch the necessary investments to companies which are beginning to "ail," or, on the contrary, to companies which are embarking on the development of priority spheres. The econonomic and legal independence of enterprises themselves must be preserved, including their right to withdraw from a given association or amalgamation.

[Correspondents] The absolute power enjoyed by the departments, as we know, affected above all the level of social development in Kazakhstan.

[Karamanov] The conceptual plan provides for a steady improvement of the republic population's living conditions, the elimination of disproportions, and the development of individual regions. Our progress in social development is less noticeable because of the rapid rise in the population's incomes. We are incapable of keeping up with them and so the gap remains. Difficulties have further exacerbated problems regarding food supplies for Karaganda miners, Guryev oil workers, and the inhabitants of zones with a critical ecological situation—Semipalatinsk Oblast and the Priaralye.

The Second Congress of People's Deputies demonstrated yet again how tired people are of the cumbersomeness of our economic mechanism. Real changes are necessary, and they are needed as soon as possible. Ultimately, our conceptual plan is geared to the main goal of creating conditions for the all-around satisfaction of the population's material and spiritual requirements and the creation of a new quality of life for people. We regard the implementation of the draft Law on Peasant Farms as a considerable reserve and will submit it to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the near future.

[Correspondents] Let us touch on the sphere of foreign economic activity. Do you think it possible for Kazakhstan to determine on its own the scale of the participation of foreign capital in economic development, to attract foreign bank loans and credits, and to enlist the help of foreign governments?

[Karamanov] These possibilities are connected with the right of ownership. All joint ventures established on Kazakh territory by union departments with the involvement of foreign capital are currently being registered at the USSR Ministry of Finance. They do not even bother to inform the republic government. You will agree that this is an unnatural situation, when a person does not know what is going on in his own yard. For instance, the U.S. "Chevron" company offered its services in petroleum processing at the Tengizskoye deposit in Guryev Oblast. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry proceeded, as ever, without bothering to notify either the republic or the oblast. An association was set up, and preparations were under way to launch a joint enterprise. We reminded them of our presence and invited the negotiating parties to Alma-Ata, where we set out our conditions. They took the hint. An instruction was issued by the government of the country appointing the Guryev Oblast Soviet's Executive Committee as one of the founders of the joint venture.

Many examples of this kind could be cited. The draft conceptual plan makes provision for a considerable expansion of the range of our independent foreign economic activities. It will be necessary to improve the system of managing foreign ties and to enhance the role of local soviets, associations, and enterprises. The role of the republic's Foreign Ministry will increase, especially in organizing new regional foreign economic organizations and associations and expanding direct ties with foreign partners. A branch of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity needs to be opened in Alma-Ata.

As for determining the scale of the participation of foreign capital and attracting credit, it is necessary to proceed from the economic sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR and the principle of self-recoupment of foreign currency. Some of our associations and organizations are already using foreign bank credits in setting up joint enterprises with French, Italian, and other foreign firms. The creation on Kazakh territory of special free enterprise economic zones looks interesting to us. However, this question requires special elaboration. Unfortunately, in the country as a whole no clear concept in respect of such zones has yet been elaborated.

The potential of border trade with the PRC, expanded foreign tourism, and increased numbers of enterprise, company, bank, and organization representative offices is far from exhausted. The Kazakh SSR Government has signed programs and cooperation agreements with the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina (SFRY), and the Xinjiang Uygur People's Government (PRC). We believe that real potential exists for doubling and possibly even trebling the volume of the republic's export-import operations during the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Unquestionably, the new principles of territorial management and their implementation must be guaranteed by an appropriate legal mechanism and constitutional norms. It is important to ensure close coordination of sectorial, regional, and centralized planned management of the national economy.

'Shopping Basket' Price Indexing Introduced

PM1101170990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Economic Commentator V. Romanyuk article: "Price Index and Standard of Living"]

[Text] For the first time the USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] has begun calculating the consolidated index of consumer prices for goods and services according to the "shopping basket" principle.

As is well known, previously the price index was calculated on the basis of list prices and average group prices. And the USSR Goskomstat was rightly criticized because through those prices it gave a distorted picture of our life. Using those statistics you couldn't tell whether people were becoming more prosperous or less. In that way "deceptive prices" went into circulation.

The new method of calculating the price index reflects their actual change; that is, it takes into account all kinds of supplements and contractual and provisional prices. For each sector there is a range of goods represented in the "basket": 650 consumer goods, 50 agricultural products, around 2,000 types of industrial output, and over 100 forms of services. First and foremost it considers retail prices, prices at collective farm markets, and the cost of paid services. When preparing the computations, the purchases of 16,500 families in the Ukraine and other statistics were analyzed.

Why was all this necessary? Of course, this will not increase the number of goods, but in light of the consumer price index it is possible to establish the range of a minimum and rational "shopping basket" for different groups of the population. Indexation can be used to protect the worst-off strata of the population. It will be based on capacity for work and other factors affecting the standard of living. Depending on the economic potential of the state, the "basket" may include either a small range of goods or a considerably larger one. In the United States this concept includes over 260 types of consumer goods and services. The consumer price index is widely used there in the state's economic and social policy and is calculated at the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In inflationary conditions, any form of indexation serves little purpose because the link between wages and the results of labor is upset. It is important to establish, as it were, a minimum of material provisions that also help determine the standard of living. The correlation between that level and the consumer price index gives a picture of how necessary is an increase in income which the state can guarantee its citizens.

I. Goryacheva, chief of the Prices Department of the USSR Goskomstat Administration of National Economic Balances, has provided new information: The country's republics and oblasts have just been sent a program for calculating the system of consumer price indexes using the new method. At the USSR Goskomstat working groups have been created to further refine the index calculation methods.

Ministry Reveals Aircraft Plans for 1990's

LD1001133890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the "Novosti" newscast;]

[Text] [Presenter] Next we have a report by correspondent Valeriy Bakarinov on a press conference at the Ministry of the Aviation Industry. A matter concerning all of us—namely, what planes we are going to fly on in the immediate future—was discussed there.

[Bakarinov] What can you offer to Aeroflot in the immediate future?

[V.F. Ivanov, deputy minister of USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry] I think that in 1991, the Il-96-300 and Tu-204 will begin carrying passengers, and at the end of 1993, or perhaps at the beginning of 1994, the Tu-334. This is a plane with 102 seats for short-haul flights to replace the Tu-134. Then there is the Il-114. I think it will begin flying this March and will begin carrying passengers in 1992.

[Bakarinov] Does this new equipment going to Aeroflot differ in any fundamental way?

[Ivanov] Yes, of course it does. The aerodynamic qualities of the new equipment have been raised by approximately two to three units. This is a matter of fundamental importance. Engine costs have been decreased by 20% to 30%. The load ratio has been improved by 15% to 20%. There has been a sharp improvement of 100% in fuel efficiency.

[Bakarinov] The main concern of any airline in the world is to transport as many passengers as possible, to create comfortable conditions for them and to transport as much freight as possible. In connection with the fact that you are obtaining new equipment, how do you as an operator, evaluate it?

[A.F. Aksenov, deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation] The new equipment which Vladimir has spoken about is extremely necessary. We are waiting for it and will work together to ensure that it comes to us in civil aviation within the deadlines he has stated, as well as with the qualities which they, so to speak, have. We are concerned that in certain areas deadlines are being postponed, or, shall we say, put off. This is a very dangerous situation and it must be overcome now by whatever means. As far as this generation of new equipment, let me reiterate that, if it meets deadlines and requirements, it will correspond to world standards. [Video shows interview with two men and stills of various planes, including the An-74, Tu-204, the interior of an unspecified plane, including flight controls, the An-124 Ruslan, and a helicopter]

Details of Railroad Unloading Backlog Reported

PM1001152990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Industry, Transport, and Construction Department report under the rubric "We Monitor the Situation": "Will Products and Goods Ever Be Unloaded?"]

[Text] Yesterday's announcement by G. Davydov, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Railways Main Transport Administration, was reminiscent of an emergency report. A fierce battle is under way on Russia's railroads to restore the normal rhythm of national economic freight shipments.

By the evening of 7 January, 23,123 freightcars had accumulated through the fault of their recipients at Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] stations and sidings, including 337 in Krasnoyarsk Kray, 372 in Kuybyshev Oblast, 621 in Irkutsk Oblast, 533 in Chita Oblast, and 656 in Volgograd Oblast.

In Kemerovo Oblast 40 freightcars of coal intended for the enrichment factory waited in vain for their recipient (Prokopyevskugol). The Volgograd "Krasnyy Oktyabr" metallurgical plant "coped" with less than one-third of the more than 200 freightcars which arrived with goods which it had ordered.

Hundreds of freightcars with grain are standing around. There are particularly many of them in Sverdlovsk, Irkutsk, Arkhangelsk, Leningrad, and Vladimir Oblasts and the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Consumer goods, including imported consumer goods, are lying about at container depots, 146,560 containers in all. In Ryazan, Tula, and Rostov Oblasts and from the Moscow and Leningrad railroad junctions only 5% to 10% of these goods were dispatched during the weekend. Customers are waiting for the goods in stores, while the goods are waiting to be unloaded at railroad stations. On the Far Eastern railroad, recipients emptied only 12 of 96 freightcars containing meat and dairy products; on the Sverdlovsk railroad only 21 of 103 were unloaded; and at the Moscow railroad junction only 96 of 300 were unloaded.

The "thrombosis" on the railroads is assuming ever-increasing proportions. In the next few days SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA will carry out spot-checks on sections where this ailment is particularly acute and fraught with serious complications for the economy of the country as a whole.

International Direct Dialing Begun in Moscow

PM0901160990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[N. Dombkovskiy report: "Calling Anywhere in the World"]

[Text] Tomorrow at 1200 hours Moscow time, something unusual will happen in the capital.

At that time E.K. Pervyshin, USSR minister of communications, will dial L.M. Zamyatin, Soviet ambasador to Great Britain, direct at the "Savoy" Hotel in London, and then Sir Rodric Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR, will contact the British minister of communications [title as given] in the same way.

So what is so unusual about these telephone calls? There are innovations, and considerable ones at that. The first intercity automatic telephone exchange which will link Moscow with virtually any part of the world is coming into service tomorrow.

People will say: Foreign guests may find this useful, but how will this affect the development of communication networks and their potential in our country? There is a connection, even a most direct connection. The intercity automatic telephones have been installed by a joint Soviet-British electronic communication firm—Comstar. I.M. Lobovskiy, its director general, told me:

"The main aim of the establishment of the joint venture was to provide all-around assistance to communication networks both inside the USSR and in the international arena. We started with the installation and technical servicing of enterprise and organization telephones, telephone exchanges, and communication centers. The international automatic exchange is only a small part of our activities carried out jointly with the well-known telecommunications company GPT, whose chairman, Lord Prior, has just arrived in Moscow.

Agricultural

Calls for Private Farms Criticized

PM0901161190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy V. Starodubtsev, chairman of the All-Russia Council of Collective Farms and chairman of Tula Oblast's "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association, by O. Stepanenko: "Defend the Peasantry. This Is How V. Starodubtsev Puts the Question"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] USSR People's Deputy V. Starodubtsev, chairman of the All-Russia Council of Collective Farms and chairman of Tula Oblast's "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association, approached the PRAVDA Editorial Office. He asked to urgently speak up for the peasantry.

[Stepanenko] What is the urgency, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich, and in what way has the peasantry been offended?

[Starodubtsev] Enough is enough, you know. You turn on the television set or open a newspaper or a journal, and your heart aches: "Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] are the mainstay of serfdom... Day labor... Better to disband them and distribute the land." Bitter though this may be, even some of my fellow deputies take advantage of every occasion to cast a stone in the direction of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And who are the most vociferous in anathemizing them? Those whose familiarity with agriculture extends only to the dining table. [passage omitted]

[Stepanenko] Are you altogether against small individual farms and lease farms?

[Starodubtsev] Wherever the land has been abandoned or there are traditions of small individual farming—fair enough, let them be. Elsewhere as well. We also have them. But life proves that these farms are less efficient than the optimum, collectivist farms.

[Stepanenko] Individual farming has been highly productive in the West. This is the experience your opponents cite, contrasting it with the bitter experience of our kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

[Starodubtsev] Bitter indeed, much more bitter. That selfsame kolkhoz-cooperative must begin by being the complete master of land, resources, and production. But this right, together with the collective's sense of being the master, were trampled with all the might of the administrative edict system. Given that individual farmers were stifled to that extent, being told what to sow, and where and when, and how much livestock to keep, not being allowed to dispose of what they produced (after all, not only feed but even seeds were taken away), being left without any earnings—how could an individual farmer prosper? And what about equipment? Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are suffocating without the bare necessities.

Looking at what I hold to be the most correct methodology of accounting, based on resources, it emerges that kolkhozes and sovkhozes are as efficient as individual farming. Therefore, our collectivist peasant is no worse a worker.

[Stepanenko] Does this mean that the causes of acute food shortages lie not in the kolkhoz-sovkhoz organization but somewhere else?

[Starodubtsev] Let me repeat this: They lie in the administrative edict system which did not allow the peasant to realize the advantages of the collective form of ownership. And also in the state's attitude toward the peasant. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes were not allowed to reveal even one-tenth of their potential. Frankly speaking, biased and one-sided comparisons with individual farmers do not worry me in particular. What is much more dangerous are the errors in calculating the efficiency of different forms of economic management in the country. We are being offered distorting mirrors.

[Stepanenko] What do you mean?

[Starodubtsev] Here is a fact. The constituent conference of the association of peasant farms was recently held in Belorussia. Its organizers cited the following data. Last year personal farms, accounting for 5.3% of the republic's arable land, yielded almost one-half of all potatoes and vegetables and one-fourth of all milk and meat. In short, their advantages were obvious. But is this true? Kolkhozes and sovkhozes cultivate dozens of crops. Specifically, the area planted with potatoes in the public sector this year is 40,000 hectares (14%) less than in the personal sector. And yet more potatoes were produced. Harvest yields on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the last 2 years were 137 and 181 quintals per hectare, against 99 and 163 quintals on personal farms. This year the public sector produced an average of 206 quintals of vegetables, almost 40 quintals more than the personal sector. The milk yield per cow on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which has reached 3.18 tonnes, is each year 0.5 tonnes higher than in personal yards. There you have the true picture of efficiency.

[Stepanenko] "Distorting mirrors" which undermine faith in the public sector have been used for a long time now.

[Starodubtsev] Nowadays some people use them to produce entire trends and set policy. A group of Moscow activists is urgently organizing associations of peasant farms at the local level. "Arguments" are put forward; these "mirrors" are palmed off on people. Comrades from Belorussia spoke of all this with a bitter smile on their lips. They also spoke of the fact that the new association's leaders, intent on supplying the future "free masters," are already asking for funds and resources, and once again, they are doing so at the expense of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Agricultural workers realize the price that will have to be paid for this adventure. But the organizers of the new associations energetically manipulate in their speeches the decisions of the Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, which proclaimed equal rights for all forms of ownership.

[Stepanenko] One gets the impression that these decisions, like perestroyka itself, glasnost, and pluralism, are often exploited for the sake of interests far removed from those of the countryside and the peasants.

[Starodubtsev] This is indeed so. For example, the valuable experience of the best farms is less and less often spoken and written about. More often than not, attempts are made to sweep it aside, to discredit it. They've been grabbing resources, it is said, "hand over fist." And thus it is concealed that today's frontrankers are the ones who actually took a stand against the flawed socioeconomic policy. Has their course not proved to be right? And why is it that, instead of seriously getting down to work—bringing main gas supplies to the countryside, improving social, cultural, and everyday service facilities, and establishing enterprises there for the processing of agricultural produce and the manufacture of goods—we are once again cheeseparing in the agricultural sector? The kolkhozes and sovkhozes must not be smashed; they must be given autonomy. And of course, ties between cities and the countryside must be strengthened.

[Stepanenko] This is not the first time you have said this.

[Starodubtsev] Yes. We in the countryside follow with alarm the intensifying polarization of the city's and the countryside's interests. It is especially swift now, after the introduction of the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system. Prices have rocketed, the countryside has experienced other blows from the city dictated by cost recoupment and the autonomy of economic accountability.

Take the land question for example. Unless we change our attitudes toward it, there will be a collapse. In my view, however, this attitude must not be examined only from the peasant's point of view. The worker is equally master of the land and must do everything to utilize it and boost its fertility. Nowadays, prompted by the interests of economic accountability, urban citizens often act as the land's enemies. They produce substandard equipment and charge sky-high prices for it. Maybe, at least for the sake of an experiment, we ought to create associations of rural and urban dwellers? This would make it simpler to form a common interest. We are still groping toward this objective via the agro-industrial associations. But this is again narrow-minded and mainly through production, rather than through the social sphere.

[Stepanenko] Many people speak of this.

[Starodubtsev] I have a particular bone to pick with science. It is, of course, difficult to pave the way, to elaborate models and options in line with socialist principles. But this is no reason to recklessly rush in the opposite direction. The easiest way is to borrow what others have achieved, the experience of the capitalist West, and to produce, as if from a horn of plenty, that which happened a long time ago over there in the West and has been partly forgotten. Look at what the scientists are offering us—those who are most frequently to be seen on television or in print. One of them says: "A lessee to start with, and then a landowner." Another one advocates private ownership without any transitional period, and yet another is in favor of private but "labor" ownership. And the words "sacred private ownership" can already be heard from the rostrum of the country's Supreme Soviet. There are banner headlines on newspaper pages. Unfortunately, the draft laws which have been submitted for discussion contain formulations which camouflage that selfsame private ownership.

[Stepanenko] For example?

[Starodubtsev] On the possession of land for life and the inheriting of land, the All-Russian Council of Collective Farms Presidium took a stand against this article. It is pleasing to note that the essence of this formulation was also understood by the peasants. I know from conversations, and also the press has reported, that they do not want any farm laborers in the countryside. In my view, however, it is too early for complacency. Agrarian scientists who advocate the division of the land are only one section of the scientific forces which are clearing the way for private ownership and capitalism. Even though it is clear that their arguments do not hold water, I believe the danger is great.

A bolder stand must be taken by those who uphold socialist values and principles. Not to be on the defensive, but to defend. The main point is to have an open and blunt debate. So far, it has been rather too vague and camouflaged.

Ligachev Criticism of Private Farms Rebutted

PM1101162990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Professor Geliy Shmelev, corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences: "Facts Are Stubborn Things, or, On the 'Private Farmers' Threat' to Collective Farms and Socialism"]

[Text] Among the speeches during the discussion of questions on measures to improve the economy at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies recently, special attention was drawn to a number which spoke about the allegedly increasing threat to the collective farm [kolkhoz] and state farm [sovkhoz] system. One such speech was by USSR People's Deputy Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the Commission on Agrarian Policy Questions. Clearly party leaders of various ranks will be oriented toward the main provisions of this speech which, presumably, will to a large extent form the long-term directions of the party's agrarian policy. (The speech was published in IZVESTIYA No 349).

"World practice," Ye.K. Ligachev announced at the Congress, "confirms two ways of resolving the food problem—the capitalist, in particular private farms [fermerskoye khozyastvo], and the socialist, in particular state and cooperative enterprises." I have an immediate objection to that conclusion. The private farmer [fermer], either by his own labor or mainly by it but with the help of seasonal workers, produces agricultural output. From dawn to dusk he is in the fields growing real grain. Can he really be called a capitalist simply because he runs his own commercial unit?

Meanwhile, the thesis of the two paths of agricultural development is not new. It was voiced by Stalin as the justification for universal collectivization and the dispossession the kulaks. In this context another question arises: How can this point in the speech be linked with another—on the support for different forms of the development of the agrarian economy, including the peasant farm. What is this—the speaker (judging from his concept) simultaneously urging support for the restoration of the capitalist system in agriculture?

As far as I understood it, this was polite deference to the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, and nothing more than that. Afterward the speaker concentrated on contrasting social production with peasant production. An interesting form of polemic was chosen for this. "Some people assert that there is only one way—the private farm..." "Some people sometimes demand that small peasant farms be created in place of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz..." The identities of these "some people" are never revealed. Moreover, I don't know who they are either. Nevertheless, this method of nameless criticism is very convenient for statements to the effect that kolkhozes and sovkhozes are in danger and that they must be protected. If criticism is not aimed at anyone in person it will presumably not be rebutted.

But the logical conclusion from the speech is that some forces are creating the danger of the compulsory disbandment of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of the transformation of kolkhoz members and workers partly into individual peasants, partly into hired farm laborers. "The party and the people have condemned the administrative edict method. Why resort to it again and dictate to the countryside how it should live? If a peasant wants to manage a farm, he should be given every assistance. But if he wants to live and work on a kolkhoz or sovkhoz, why get in his way? Why deprive him of that right?"

That is like being afraid that "our lamb will eat the wolf." No one has yet seen any tangible grounds for such a fear. In the majority of oblasts not a single peasant has leased land or taken possession of it from the state so far. As the appeal of the recently formed Moscow Peasant Union says, "as a rule we are allocated the poorest lands, the neglected or semi-neglected farms. They call us owners of the land and take away our right to dispose of our produce." All the newspapers write that the means of production are either not sold to peasants and their cooperatives or that they are sold at a far higher price than to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They also write that it is virtually impossible to obtain credit to buy equipment, to provide a farm with facilities, to set up a herd, and so on. Nevertheless, despite this sorry picture, public opinion is panic-stricken at the upcoming "crusade" against the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. That mood also is supported by a section of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies—the chairmen of kolkhozes and directors of sovkhozes.

"In the socialist countries where the population is well provided with foodstuffs, literally almost all agricultural production is concentrated on collective farms," it is claimed. In fact this is far from true. We know of three countries, CEMA members, where the shelves are full of food—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. However, the population's own farms wield considerable influence there, too. In the GDR, for instance, where 40% of the population is involved to some extent in agriculture, the proportion of the individual sector in state purchases in 1988 was as follows: Meat (slaughter weight), 12.6%; wool, 28.8%; eggs, 33.3%; vegetables, 13.5%; fruit, 33.5%; and honey, nearly 100%. In total production the proportion of the population's farms measured mainly in terms of their consumption significance, is higher than for purchases—vegetables form more than 28%, fruit more than half. In Czechoslovakia in 1988 the proportion of the individual sector in the production of meat was 11.5%, eggs 40%, wool around 54%, vegetables 48%, fruit 66%, and potatoes 15%.

The proportion of the individual sector in Hungary's agrarian economy is particularly high. For feed root crops, for example, the individual sector's share is 95%, while for potatoes the figure is 80%, vegetables 82%, fruit and berries 62%, grapes 85%, meat 50% (1987 figure), and eggs 65%. So in a number of important areas Hungary's social sector augments the individual sector, not vice versa. Here the latter relies on the help of social production, which increases its production potential and economic efficiency. On the whole the proportion of the individual sector in the production of gross agricultural output in recent years has not only not declined but has even grown, reaching 35% in 1985 and close to 40% in 1988. It is the high level of production on the population's farms that that makes it possible not only to feed the country well but also to earn currency in the foreign market. That should not be ignored.

In those countries now, incidentally, support for individuals has been proclaimed and measures to give them economic incentives have been stepped up. Purchases on the population's farms in the GDR in the past 5-year plan rose by 25%. Indeed, compared with the other European CEMA countries the GDR has a higher proportion of public sector ownership in agriculture and the population is well supplied with food. However, look at the point of comparison. Just across the road, in the FRG, the efficiency of the agrarian sector is a magnitude higher and the problems there, as in the entire Common Market, are of a different order—how to prevent overproduction and the worsening of competition.

At this point I want to return to the congress speech. "Some even say that private ownership of the land should be introduced. In that regard my question is: What will that mean for our Fatherland? If we face facts it will mean nothing more or less than the radical changing of the social base in the countryside. You will agree that this is a completely different social system," we were told.

To assess the opponents' proposals as a deliberate or inadvertent undermining of our social system, especially when produced on the eve of the nationwide discussion of the draft Law on Land, is inappropriate and dubious, to put it mildly. There is no need to intimidate us by the threat of a transfer to a different social system if the peasant's labor ownership of the land is destroyed. Let the peasants themselves choose the form in which the land is to be transferred to them rather than have someone choose for them. Our agrarian policy must proceed from the interests of the peasants, not ideological dogma.

Let us look at how things are in the European CEMA countries. In none of them was all the land nationalized (which, by the way, the classics of Marxism-Leninism viewed as a completely bourgeois measure) and private labor ownership of the land remained. That situation is formally preserved now, too, although it does not mean that in these countries the owner of the land has an unrestricted right to dispose of it. On the contrary, in a number of countries despite the official retention of the right to private ownership of the land the possibility of the economic exercise of that right is either actually nonexistent or extremely restricted. Take Czechoslovakia, where a considerable proportion of the land is still in private ownership: Under the recently adopted law a peasant cannot leave the cooperative and take his portion of land with him, nor is he compensated for his share. Payments for shares in the land ended long ago in Bulgaria but are retained in Hungary and the GDR. It should be noted that before the mass organization of agricultural cooperatives in the European CEMA countries there was a distinction between the system of peasants' private ownership of land which belonged to them previously and land transferred to them under the agrarian reform.

The question is, of course: Why proclaim the possibility of private ownership of the land and then use agrarian policy measures to render it a fiction? That is undoubtedly senseless. But nevertheless, it is clearly expedient to limit private (individual) ownership of the land. So that it should not be turned into some kind of bugbear.

The Law on Peasant Farms adopted in Lithuania last year directly speaks about the peasant's right to ownership of the land although it adds the reservation that the land may not be bought or sold, let or mortgaged.

Incidentally, there are restrictions on private ownership of land even in capitalist countries. For a long time land law attempted to combine conflicting principles: to preserve the sanctity of the right to private ownership of land and to significantly restrict it on the grounds of economic expediency and society's interests. From this conflict of two principles the second ultimately emerged victorious. The state substantially limited the powers of the landowner in favor of the lessee. In France and the FRG, for example, the law permits certain work to be done on the land despite the will of its owner if it can be shown in law that this work is advisable to increase the profitability of the economic unit. The legislation of a number of U.S. states provides that if a lessee suffers as a result of the unlawful claims of a landowner the court will compel the landowner to pay compensation of three times the value of the damage caused.

At the same time the sense of being master and owner of the land is worth a lot. Consider this: Why, despite everything, does an individual Polish or Yugoslav peasant farmer still not hurry even now to opt for the socialization of the land and other means of production? The land for him is not simply a place of work, it is the thing which binds him to the past and the future; it is the place where his forefathers are buried and where his children and grandchildren will live and work. The land is the condition of the peasants' economic independence and political strength. In our country the decline in the social prestige and the devaluation of the peasant's occupation began precisely after the land was taken away from him. Landless, he lacks a purpose. And it is no coincidence at all that when the land was transferred under the agrarian reform in a number of East European countries the peasants demanded that the government not give but sell back the land so that they really felt themselves to be owners of it. Which was done at virtually a nominal price.

Thus the development of lease relations in the countryside should not exclude the peasant's ownership of the land. It should ensure the possibility of pluralism of forms of ownership of the land. In the leading capitalist countries, as a rule, there are few "pure" lessees. The vast bulk of the peasants work their own land or increase their own allotment by "leasing." In time, clearly, that will happen in our country, too. The law should take that eventuality into account. The lease at present should be viewed as a form of schooling and the natural choice of future independent farmers. This process is quite lengthy and people will have time to decide where it is better for them to work—on the kolkhoz or on their own farm. No one is forcing them to choose straightaway.

One final point. After dwelling in his speech on the fact that the growth of capital investments in the agrarian economy envisaged for the 5-year plan is smaller than the growth in food production, Comrade Ligachev draws the conclusion that this is economic nonsense. "Putting it bluntly, this is a first not only in our practice but in world practice, too. Believe me, comrades, it has never happened before either here or in other countries." Why be so categorical? It has happened. In Czechoslovakia from 1966 to 1970 the average annual growth of capital investments in agriculture was 0.8% whereas for output it was 3.5%. In the GDR 1971-1975 the capital investment growth rate was 0.6%, and gross agricultural output rose by 2.4%. In Hungary between 1976-1980 the volume of capital investments increased by 3%, while output rose by 20%.

Briefly then, as the experience of other countries shows, the rate of production growth can be kept at a quite high level without increasing the volume of investments at a faster rate. I do not mean to belittle the importance of substantial capital investments in our country's agriculture or their redistribution in favor of the agrarian sector, but those resources may be and most probably will be squandered if they do not go to the true owners who will determine themselves the areas in which the capital investments are to be used. Therefore, the prime condition for increasing production in the agrarian sector must be a change in the system of production relations to restore the peasant as the true owner. And despite the importance of increasing appropriations, the shortage of them should not be viewed as the paramount, sole, or main reason why we are lagging behind. Hundreds of billions of rubles and foreign currency have been invested in the agrarian sphere but the discrepancy in the labor productivity of the Soviet countryside and farmers in the developed countries has still not been reduced. Why? Life itself, I think, has answered that question.

IZVESTIYA Comments on Farmer's Suicide

PM1101135790

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 January 1990 Morning Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "Details and Commentaries" and the headline "Tragedy in Khmelevka" a 550-word report from Tomsk Oblast's Kozhevnikovskiy Rayon by D. Barchuk, correspondent of the oblast newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA, and IZVESTIYA own correspondent A. Solovyev. It describes how a state farm [sovkhoz] worker committed suicide after being forced to stop working under a lease contract with the farm because his team was operating too successfully and making a profit, while the sovkhoz was making a loss. He was unable to bear the stigma of being branded a scrounger and kulak, although he was a perfectly honest, hardworking man. The report concludes as follows:

"There is no leasing on the sovkhoz now, and its debts are growing (not even subsidies are rescuing it). Nor is there any leasing in the whole of Kozhevnikovskiy Rayon—the most southerly, most fertile, and most crime-ridden of the rural rayons in terms of thefts of socialist property. No one risks it."

The report is followed by a "commentary by IZVESTIYA's Agricultural Department," which reads:

"This is not the first death. A year ago the chairman of an agricultural cooperative in Moscow Oblast committed suicide. The reason was essentially the same: The hostile milieu had ruined the farmer economically and pushed him psychologically toward the noose. The tragedies of the decollectivization of the countryside have begun to mount up.

"There is no special need to explain anything here. Perversions of mass morality are closely linked with the perversion of the laws of economics. The habit of living beyond your means for decades and producing less than you get has resulted in the shaping in thousands of collective farms and sovkhozes which live on state subsidies of a collective morality of exploiters living off another's labor. A cruel truth. But these tragedies have removed the last trace of makeup from the fine protestations about the progressiveness of keeping the lease within the framework of farms.

"It is true that experienced farmers did not swallow this bait, discerning from afar an attempt to live at their expense. But even their doubts were at once interpreted by the champions of this idea as a reluctance on the part of peasants to take land. But were they giving it in earnest?

"However, this thesis is being repeated persistently even now that society, climbing out of the abyss of the food crisis, has come really close to adopting laws on land and ownership. And this viewpoint has many supporters, who are afraid of being deprived of the narcotic of state subsidies. This also is true. The scales of opinion are wavering. Must other people's lives really tip the balance in order for common sense to triumph?"

Early December Weather, Crop Report

04B0087A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 December 89 p 3

[Article by O. Pisarenko, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Sowing"]

[Text] The weather was warmer than usual in a large part of the European territory of the USSR in the first half of the past 10-day period. Afterwards it got noticeably colder. Frosts in the northeastern half of the territory reached 19-29 degrees (in the Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], 35 degrees), and in the southwestern half, 11-18 degrees (in Moldavia and in Krasnodarskiy Kray, minus 7-10 degrees). Winter grain crops were in a dormant state under a snow cover. Only in a number of rayons of Moldavia, and the Odessa, Crimean, and Astrakhan oblasts was there no snow cover on fields with winter crops. There were no heavy frosts here either. The minimal temperature of the soil to the depth of a tillering node in these regions dropped to minus 6-7 degrees. In the central oblasts of the Ukraine and in a large part of the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga, the Baltics, and Belorussia, the depth of the snow cover in the fields with winter crops was not great (less than 10 centimeters). In the central oblasts of the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus, and the Lower Volga, where there were no heavy frosts, the minimal temperature of the soil to a tillering node depth for winter grain crops remained principally between minus 1 degree to minus 6 degrees.

It was colder than usual in the republics of the Transcaucasus. However, on individual days the maximum air temperature increased up to 6-12 degrees—in the east of Georgia, up to 3-5 degrees. The winter grain crops here vegetated poorly. A snow cover developed at the end of the 10-day period in a number of rayons of Georgia and Armenia.

Warmer-than-usual weather was maintained in the agricultural zone of Western Siberia and in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. Winter grain crops here were in a dormant state under snow cover. Its depth in a majority of the rayons of the Tyumen, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk Oblasts, in the northeast of the Altayskiy Kray and places in the Kustanay and North Kazakhstan Oblasts was 15-25 centimeters, and in the remaining territory of Western Siberia and the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan, it was less than 10 centimeters. As a result of thaws, there was an almost simultaneous formation of an ice crust that was ground into the soil. The minimal temperature of the soil to a winter grain crop tillering node depth was within the bounds of from minus 5 degrees to minus 8 degrees (to the west of Altayskiy Kray, from minus 14 to minus 18 degrees).

The weather remained warmer than usual in the republics of Central Asia. The average air temperature for the 10-day period exceeded the multi-year average by 2-7 degrees. The maximal air temperature was 15-26 degrees. There was precipitation in a majority of the rayons. Its amount was 15-45 millimeters. In the Karakalpakskaya ASSR, to the north of Turkmenia, Bukhara Oblast, and to the east of Tajikistan and Kirghizia the amount of precipitation did not exceed 10 millimeters. Winter grain crops grew for most of the 10-day period. Past rains have replenished the reserves of productive moisture of the tillable layer of soil. It got colder at the end of the 10-day period. A snow cover formed in fields with winter grain crops in a number of rayons of Kirghizia and Tajikistan.

Agricultural Developments for 28 Dec-10 Jan

LD0401054190

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural develpments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian from 28 December through 10 January, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

28-31 December
No fileworthy items monitored.

1 January
The Ukraine grain harvest looks successful according to preliminary results: 53 million tonnes of grain crops have been obtained. The average yield of the 15.6 million hectares registered 34.8 quintals—a record. On average, 17.5 million tonnes have been sold to the state over the past 2 years, but this year almost 3 million more tonnes of grain crops have been put into storage. (1200)

2-3 January
No fileworthy items monitored.

4 January
From the RSFSR State Statistical Committee: Autumn plowing has been fulfilled by 101% in the republic. However, autumn plowing is not complete in the following oblasts: Kalinin, Yaroslavl, and some other oblasts in the non-chenozem soil zone.

The plowing of fields for spring crops is not complete in the Krasnodar Kray, North Osetia, Chechen-Ingush

Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and practically all oblasts and krays of the far east.

The plan for winter sowing has been fulfilled by 96% in the RSFSR.

A Tomsk Oblast correspondent has reported that over the past year, farms there have yielded 10,000 tonnes of milk and several thousand tonnes of meat above-plan. Average milk yield per cow there was, for the first time, 3,300 kg, the highest result of the country's eastern rayons. (1300)

5-10 January
No fileworthy items monitored

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts Conduct Second Space Walk

LD1101224890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 2030 GMT on 11 January broadcasts a 5-minute report by commentator Vladimir Bezyayev from the Flight Control Center on the progress of the space walk being undertaken by Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov. The notice board in the main hall shows that the cosmonauts have been outside the craft for 2 hours 30 minutes.

Bezyayev interviews Aleksandr Vasilyevich Sergatskov, introduced as the current crew's instructor at the cosmonauts' training center. Sergatskov states that "the program for today's walk is virtually coming to an end." He enumerates the tasks involved in the exercise. They look forward to future tasks in preparing for the docking of the next module, "about which your listeners probably know already, a technological module," Sergatskov says.

Bezyayev observes that "the two Aleksandrs will have to go out into space several times more," without indicating when those subsequent excursions are due to take place.

Returning to the present, Bezyayev announces that "according to the schedule, this walk is supposed to end somewhere between 0130 and 0200." Sergatskov says: "I think it will end more quickly."

Jobs Completed

LD1101232390 Moscow TASS in English 2250 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Mission Control Centre January 12 TASS—The crew of the Mir orbital complex completed another stage of work in raw space. The main tasks to be accomplished on the outer surface of the Mir complex during their second walk in space were the installation of new research devices and the removal of the panel with samples of construction materials fixed there in December 1988 during the flight of the Soviet-French crew.

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov got out into space through the hatch of the station's coupling unit at 21:01 Moscow time on January 11.

The cosmonauts fixed cassettes with samples of non-metallic materials onto the outer surface of the station and the arfa equipment for the further investigation of the earth's ionosphere and magnitosphere onto the Kvant astrophysical module. After that the crew dismantled the panel with samples of materials and the register of micrometeorite flows. They also removed the ramp that was used for unfolding the girder structure under the Soviet-French era experiment programme.

Having concluded planned work on the outer surface of the station. The flight commander and the mission engineer returned to the coupling section to prepare it for the docking of a specialised module due to arrive soon. The cosmonauts removed the docking unit from the spot where the Kvant-2 module was docked and fixed it onto the opposite corner unit. After that they shut the entrance hatch.

The crew spent a total of 2 hours 54 minutes in raw space.

The flight of the Mir complex continues. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are feeling well.

Military

Leaders Sign General Korobchenko's Obituary

PM1101093790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of Colonel General V.S. Korobchenko]

[Excerpts] Colonel General Professor Vasiliy Stratonovich Korobchenko, eminent Soviet military leader and veteran of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, has died after a prolonged serious illness. [passage omitted]

V.S. Korobchenko was born 30 December 1903 in the city of Vilkomir, now in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. He volunteered for the Red Army in 1919 and rose from Red Army soldier to colonel general. [passage omitted]

During the postwar years V.S. Korobchenko commanded an independent army's artillery, and from 1958 served in the Military Artillery Academy as chief of department, deputy academy chief for educational and scientific work, and then as academy chief. [passage omitted]

[Signed] V.I. Varennikov, A.V. Betekhtin, N.A. Moiseyev, D.A. Grinkevich, A.A. Demidov, V.M. Mikhalkin, Yu.T. Chesnokov, M.Ye. Penkin, A.A. Galkin, V.P. Kuznetsov, N.M. Dimidyuk, I.G. Kuznetsov, Yu.I. Shumilikhin, V.G. Kryukov, M.V. Yakushin, B.A. Plyshevskiy, S.Ye. Izmalkin, V.B. Rodionov, Yu.S. Fedorov, V.I. Strelchenko, L.S. Sapkov, M.D. Sidorov, I.N. Anashkin.